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New Republic

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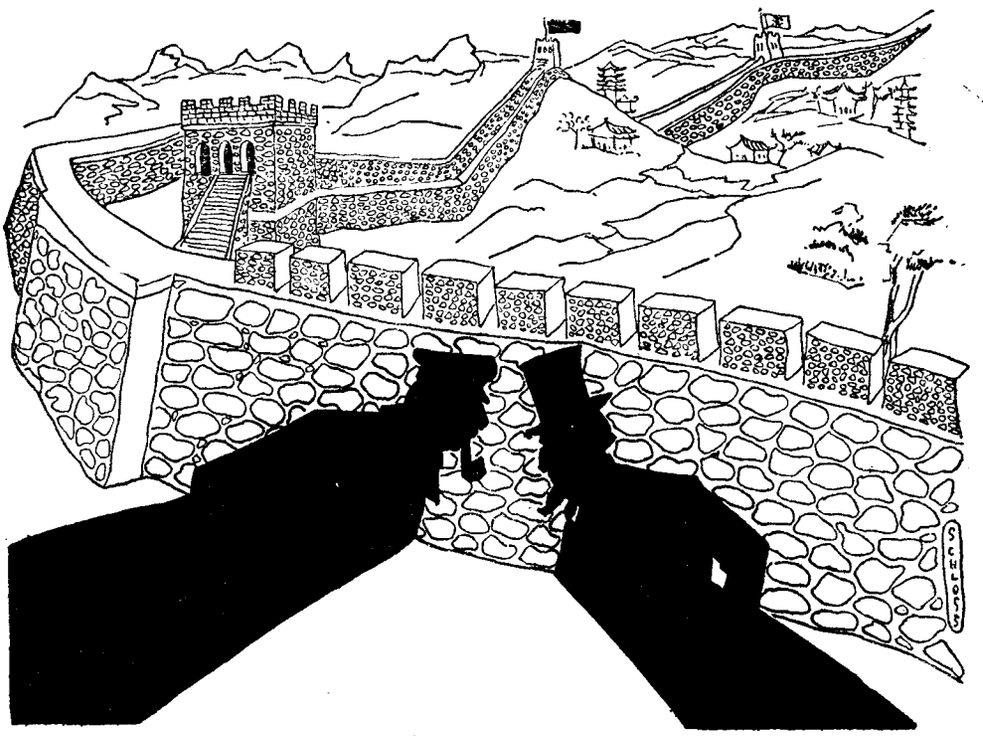

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by NATHAN ROBERTSON

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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Clashes Outside Paris

WHILE the powers are haggling at Paris over a limited peace, the possibilities of unlimited further discord are being energetically developed at nearly every point in the world where the interests of Russia and the Western democracies meet face to face. The narrow areas of agreement possible in the long-sought treaties with the five former enemy satellites are being further dwarfed by issues which have been excluded from the deliberations at Luxembourg Palace. In this first week of the second postwar year, honest peace and lasting concord of nations seem more fleeting and tragically ephemeral than ever before.

Through a certain forced optimism, it may be conceded that the name-calling and stalemates at Paris represent merely the obnoxious but still normal process of peacemaking among allies. And with this same strained optimism, it may also be granted that, as Molotov is reported to have predicted, the powers will be united at the end and that acrimony will clear the air for final settlement of the future of Italy, the satellite Balkan states and Finland.

But even granting these concessions, it now appears that conflict between the Western democracies and the Soviet Union is developing faster outside Paris than settlements can be reached through the laborious processes of treaty making.

To list only the more important new divisions:

The drawing of the line of demarcation through the heart of Germany by the merger of British and American zones of occupation, and Russia's retaliatory measures toward permanent socialization of the economy of its zone in the neo-classic Soviet mold.

The tightening conflict at Vienna over prostrate Austria, with General Mark Clark charging unilateral and arbitrary Soviet encroachments on the Austrian economy.

The imminence of what is now apparently to be the showdown in the quest for bases on the Dardanelles and unrestrained access to the Mediterranean. At this writing the United States is obviously preparing to join with Turkey and Britain against Russia in this dangerous melee.

The unresolved and increasingly irritating problems of reparations—from Germany, from Japan and from the satellites—and the growing demonstration that the year-old reparations agreement of Potsdam is inadequate and inconclusive to the degree of self-nullification.

The reëmergence of Iran as the battleground of the opposing imperialisms of Great Britain and Soviet Russia, and Britain's threat to use its troops massed at Basra in nearby Iraq to protect its 20-percent dividends from Iranian petroleum fields without so much as a by-your-leave from the United Nations.

Britain's heavy-handed, and President Truman's timorous, efforts to find a Palestine settlement without resort to the UN, and the acid Soviet comments through *Izvestia* from the sidelines about these maneuvers in the Middle East "despite UN."

These broadening divisions, of course, must be attributed in considerable part to the perverse determination of Messrs. Byrnes, Bevin, Bidault and Molotov to work from the periphery of their frictions and antagonisms instead of first settling their basic problems. Each hourly extension in the settlement of these primary questions makes the final agreement on which general peace must rest that much more difficult to achieve.

Where issues are allowed to become so inflamed that basic national passions are embroiled, the first resort of diplomats in action is to rally blocs for support of national positions. But the events at Luxembourg since July 29 have demonstrated that bloc politics create more problems than they can solve. The danger is that the bloc created at Luxembourg in behalf of both Russia and the West will solidify in the problems excluded from the Paris conference, and will immediately emerge as permanent alignments inside the UN.

The UN was devised to function only with complete concord and unanimity of the Big Five. It can hardly be expected to survive an unrestrained encounter of Eastern and Western blocs either in the Security Council or the World Assembly. The result of such development would be a paralysis and atrophy even more disastrous than the decay of the League of Nations which preceded World War II.

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"Too Little" in Palestine

Apparently only "well informed diplomatic sources" know exactly what American policy on Palestine is at the present moment. Various unconfirmed reports from Washington or London have hinted that President Truman will insist on the immediate entry of 100,000 Jews to Palestine before any long-range settlement for the mandate can be considered. Other news dispatches indicate that Mr. Truman will back the Palestine proposals of the Jewish Agency, which seeks to establish separate Jewish and Arab states with full control over immigration, taxation and other matters. The Agency has flatly rejected Britain's plan to federalize Palestine by partitioning the Holy Land into three zones—Jewish, Arab and British.

Much of this appears to be mere chess play. Before the President left for his 18-day vacation at sea, the White House announced that he might ask Congress to admit a larger number of European displaced persons, including Jews, as permanent residents of the United States. Rumor has it also that the United States may grant as much as $300 million for the economic and social rehabilitation of the Arab countries. This suggestion and the President's aim to enlarge our immigration quotas are both steps in the right direction. They constitute the first realistic proposals on our part that have been injected into the Palestine issue for months. If we are to welcome further refugees from Europe, and if this country adopts economic aid as part of its policy toward the Middle East, we will have begun transforming our policy from high-sounding words to concrete deeds.

Yet we are sure that Congress will prefer more words rather than act upon these recommendations. Already congressmen have warned the President not to tamper with the immigration quotas, and any appropriations for Palestine or the Arab states will face stiff opposition. If Mr. Truman hopes to achieve these limited objectives, he must actively support them in the new Congress. Economic aid for the Middle East and refuge for more of Europe's displaced persons will make Britain's task somewhat easier in resolving the remaining tensions in Palestine. But America, as well as Britain, can do still more by requesting a new regime for Palestine under the trusteeship system of the United Nations.

World Food Plan

THE State Department's determination to end UNRRA regardless of whether any substitute exists to fill the continuing need for relief seems to indicate a turn away from its recent good record in economic foreign policy. While Under-secretary for Economic Affairs Will Clayton did not originate the famous remark about the "gravy train making its last round"—Herbert Hoover should get the dubious credit for this—Clayton nevertheless echoed Hoover's ideas at the Geneva UNRRA conference.

Now the State Department is leading the opposition against the "Orr Proposals" for a world food-stabilization plan to increase production and prevent famine. Its main objections are that the plan goes too far in attempting to control prices, that it would bind the United States more tightly than the wartime Combined Food Board and that it would be expensive to operate. The plan's relief provisions, aimed at raising the living standards of underprivileged people, are also viewed with a jaundiced eye.

Actually the plan is highly tentative and intended only as a basis for discussion. Its author, Sir John Orr, Director General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, was asked to report on the long-range question to last May's international conference on urgent food problems. After an exhaustive survey, Sir John and FAO experts advocated establishment of a world food board, with power to buy and store buffer stocks of food and to help stabilize world prices and production. Their conclusions will be presented to the Copenhagen FAO conference, which will act on them next month. The limits within which the plan will operate as a price-control agency, and the source of its funds, remain to be determined. If the FAO approves the general outline of the plan, the United States will help to determine how it will be applied when the question comes before the Social and Economic Council.

Support for the Orr proposals is increasing. First reports had it that the Cabinet had unanimously rejected the plan. But last week Secretary of Commerce Wallace, stung by liberal criticism based on these false stories, came out strongly for the principle of an international "ever-normal granary." Moreover, he said, the Cabinet had also approved the same principle without a dissenting voice and asked for further study of this and alternative proposals.

The Orr plan is also getting considerable public support. Not only humanitarian groups such as Food for Freedom, but also some conservative groups have rallied behind it. Edward O'Neal, head of the American Farm Bureau Federation and a member of the United States delegation to the Copenhagen conference, believes the plan can and should be fitted into our foreign economic program.

The State Department's opposition to the Orr plan may be attributed at least in part to that common Washington occupational disease, congressional battle fatigue. Department economists heaved a sigh of relief that could be heard for miles when the British loan agreement was finally approved, and considered their year's crusading done. They have no hankering for further battles with Congress over additional

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UNRRA appropriations or world food plans. If its representatives at the Copenhagen FAO conference try to scuttle the Orr plan without offering a constructive alternative, the Department will be running counter to public opinion on famine relief. The least it can do is to approve the establishment of food reserves against the possibility of future famine, and the creation of some sort of food-stabilization board to prevent extreme fluctuations in price and production through the voluntary coöperation of the main food-producing nations.

A Court of Human Rights

Herbert V. Evatt, chief Australian representative at Paris, has proposed a Court of Human Rights to protect "citizenship, human rights and the fundamental freedoms." He would have it set up and the right of appeal written into the treaties with Italy, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Finland, carrying further a suggestion already made by the United States in regard to people in the territories which are to be alienated from Italy. Observers at Paris took it for granted that Russia would strongly object to this proposal, on the ground that preservation of these rights is already guaranteed by various documents. Presumably Russia is also alarmed about establishing the principle of "outside interference" in the internal affairs of any state. Basically, Mr. Evatt is right, and every believer in civil liberties must support his view. Politically, it will take a long time, and great patience, to bring the Russians to an acceptance of his plan.

Surplus Material for GI Housing

The action long overdue, Housing Expediter Wilson Wyatt last week took full control over surplus materials going into the housing program. From now on the CPA and the WAA will take orders from Wyatt on the distribution of surplus property.

During the past months, thousands of veterans have been denied adequate housing because of the CPA's mismanagement of purchase priorities on surplus government building supplies and equipment. With virtually all such necessary surplus materials being allocated to commercial building rather than homes, the CPA has greatly delayed the emergency housing program. Originally, the CPA listed only nine or ten surplus items which home-builders could get from the War Assets Administration. More recently, they lengthened the list and at the same time granted veterans a priority on the materials. However, the plan wasn't working satisfactorily. The WAA failed in many instances to issue the new instructions to its regional offices; so veterans holding priority certificates were turned down by local officials.

Simultaneously with his displacement of the CPA, Wyatt added 50 scarce materials to the priority list. Veterans' housing now has preference on more than 80 types of building materials instead of the 30 previously covered. Added to the list were such supplies as stoves, refrigerators, lighting fixtures, putty, cement, bricks, shingles and linoleum. To obtain these items a veteran secures his priority certificate from his local FHA office. How long the Veterans' Administration and the FPHA will have exclusive priority has not yet been determined. Second on the priority list will be private builders holding Wyatt's "HH" or veterans housing priority, who will get immediate access to scarce materials.

Housing authorities believe that this order will not only expedite the building of new homes, but will hasten the completion of some 496,000 houses started during the first six months of this year, many of which are still unfinished.

Price Crisis and the CIO

The future of wage stabilization will be decided in the next 30 days.

With that warning, the CIO Executive Board last week closed an emergency session in Washington on the agonizing issue of the spurt in living costs. The word "agonizing" is used deliberately because the wage-price battle within the labor movement racks the CIO's best brains.

The problem is simply stated—Congress has anchored wages nine fathoms down while prices are permitted free sailing. Having stated the problem, the need for a positive policy becomes overpowering in its complexity.

The CIO leadership has taken a quiet no-strike pledge for at least the next 30 days. There are faint hopes that prices may level off, particularly if the Price Decontrol Board, the OPA and the Department of Agriculture agree to a price rollback.

The CIO's approach on the grass-roots level will be buyers' strikes, which now have the official imprimatur of the CIO Executive Board, not only as a weapon in the anti-inflation battle but also as a means of building up political consciousness among workers. As Walter Reuther put it, the CIO will try to point out the relationship between the lunch box and the ballot box.

It is doubtful whether buyers' strikes will do the trick of quelling the high price tide. Outside the CIO meeting-room, one of its top economic advisers said very quietly, "These buyers' strikes can only work, if at all, on a few specific commodities, but they won't stop the price index from moving up."

Between now and the next Congress, the CIO will formulate a tax program to protect wage-earner income. It is also undertaking a large-scale research program to expose profiteering.

This is hardly a program for solving the imminent crisis in the nation's economy. It means everything and nothing. The CIO leadership—no more than the AFL leadership with its Gompers hangover—publicly has

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evinced few long-term plans to control a boom-and-bust economic situation.

In Washington many labor and non-labor sources doubt that recontrol of food prices under the present OPA law can work effectively. If within 30 days it becomes apparent that wage stabilization without price stabilization is economic tyranny, labor members of the Wage Stabilization Board may resign in protest.

What is becoming apparent to the CIO is that a successful, short-term campaign on the wage-price front needs long-term thinking about the whole economy. Labor still follows where capital leads. When crises arise all labor can do, as last week's CIO policy statement did, is cry that "the stabilization program as it is presently constituted is a noose around the neck of labor. It is unfair and inequitable."

Several good Labor Day speeches could be delivered next week on the story of British labor and how it grew between two wars. One along such lines, by Walton Hamilton and Thurman Arnold, will appear in the next issue of the *New Republic*.

German Prisoners of War

In nearly all the Allied countries except the United States, German prisoners of war are still doing something pretty close to what we called slave labor when our enemies practiced it during the war. In England, for example, there are nearly 400,000, most of them working on farms for 80 cents a day, of which the prisoner gets 20 cents and the government 60 cents. Prisoners are also at work in Canada, Norway, Belgium, France and Russia. Technically, this does not violate the Geneva Convention, which requires that prisoners be sent home at the end of a war, because no German government at present exists; but morally, many people—especially in Great Britain—feel that it leaves a good deal to be desired. There are reliable reports that many of these prisoners who were not Nazis during the war are now seething with hatred of the democracies, which are keeping them in durance for only one real reason: that there is a shortage of manpower. If this situation is not promptly remedied, it would seem a legitimate subject for the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations.

Religious War in India

By August 19, more than a thousand were dead in the religious war in India. There seemed no reason, however, to believe that it would prevent the creation of the new provisional government under the auspices of the Indian National Congress. The Congress proposes six seats for itself, five for the Moslems and three for other minorities; Jinnah of the Moslem League thinks this is outrageous, and his attitude is largely responsible for the blood bath India has been experiencing. Complete peace in India is obviously a long way off; but perhaps the experience of the past few days may result in enough of an armistice to get the new provisional government under way.

Oil and Politics

The State Department has made an important suggestion, doing so in the rather offhand manner of an NBC radio symposium. The proposal is for an International Petroleum Authority under the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. The State Department experts point out what everybody already knew—that oil is thoroughly mixed up with politics, especially in the Near East. The suggestion for the Authority is a good one; it ought to be followed up. But like so many other things, it depends for any hope of success upon the general international atmosphere—in other words, on whether Russia and the West are really trying to get along together, or are only in an armed and degenerating truce.

The Issue in Athens

THE FAILURE in Athens, Tennessee, was the failure of the state, backed by its police powers, to uphold the rights of its citizens. The citizens of Athens had the basic democratic right to a free election, honestly voted and honestly counted. A small group of entrenched officials, intent upon keeping itself in office, attempted to deprive Athens' citizens of this right and violence resulted.

The leader of the independent-veterans group, James Buttram, is quoted by the United Press as saying: "We tried every way in the world to avoid violence. I stayed on the wire about a month trying to get help from Governor Jim McCord, Attorney General Tom Clark in Washington and the FBI. I gave the FBI a blow-by-blow report up until the polls closed. I told how the Cantrell organization was doing and said something ought to be done about it."

In Arkansas, where another election scandal threatened to deprive the citizens of Malvern of their fundamental rights as citizens and voters, officials took prompt and energetic action. A court order was issued giving the veterans the legal right to witness the vote counting, and the state police were on hand to see that everything was aboveboard. The veteran candidates won and an 18-year-old "machine" was thrown out of office—without violence.

Both liberals and conservatives have deplored the use of violence by the Athens veteran-independent group. The dangers inherent in such methods and the spreading of such tactics to other, more explosive issues, such as strike breaking and the KKK, have been emphasized. Even the Athens leader has said that he would not advocate such methods elsewhere. This criticism is just, for no matter how well established the right of the people to take the law into their own

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hands and overthrow tyranny, it is a right which is not lightly assumed and one which more often leads to fascism and tyranny than to freedom and democracy.

But even more fundamental than the question whether the veterans in Athens had only the final resort to arms is the question whether the state will take energetic measures to uphold the democratic rights of its free citizens. In Tennessee those rights were not protected, just as in the Germany of the 1920's the Social Democratic government failed to protect its citizens against the undemocratic methods and violence of the Nazis. In one case violence was on the side of justice, and in the other it furthered the cause of tyranny. But in both cases the failure of the state to ensure the democratic rights of its citizens was the same.

In a democracy the rule of law must be defended; but law must rule, not keep aloof and withdrawn while citizens are oppressed by small groups acting contrary to the constitutional and common law of the land. If the public record to date is correct, the real failure in Athens lay with officials who failed to take positive action to see that justice prevailed. It will take a more dynamic concept of democracy and the rights of the individual than was evidenced in Tennessee to prevent such outbreaks in the future.

The Wage-Price Squeeze

PRICES AND PROFITS are rapidly zooming to the highest levels in American history, while the take-home pay of workers is being held by the government at figures far below a year ago. This disjointed policy threatens not only to force a new wave of strikes which will jeopardize production, but threatens to undermine the whole program for postwar full employment.

Here are a few of the outstanding figures that tell the story: By May of this year, weekly earnings of workers in manufacturing had declined almost eight percent from the year before, despite the bitterly disputed wage increases forced by strikes last winter.

Under congressional pressure to let business have its way, prices have been zooming since January. With the OPA still in existence, the Consumers' Price Index, a measure of the cost of living, jumped three percent from February to June, or more than it had risen in the entire previous year.

After the suspension of price control in July, prices shot up faster than ever before. Basic commodities rose 25 percent at wholesale. Within a single month the cost of living jumped 5½ percent—the highest rise for a similar period in history. It has risen eight percent since January, officially, and much higher actually.

Latest official reports show prices still climbing at a breath-taking rate. The index of commodity prices rose almost two percent more during the week ending August 10. It was almost 13 percent higher than six weeks ago when the OPA was suspended and more than 20 percent higher than at the end of the war a year ago.

Further rises, official and unofficial, are on the way. The OPA still is relaxing price controls under the new law passed by Congress. Last week prices were boosted with the government's permission on such consumer items as radios, stoves, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, toasters, irons and automobiles.

Profits, already at a peak surpassing record-breaking war months, were still rising still higher. According to the National City Bank, profits for the April-May-June quarter were almost double the preceding quarter and 12 percent higher than a year ago.

The net result was to further increase the fundamental maladjustment between profits and wages.

Another, more immediate result, will be to force another round of strikes and wage increases, which will unsettle the economy even more. Philip Murray, president of the CIO told the Decontrol Board that the government was employing "one policy on wages and another, entirely different, on prices." Warning that the stage was being set for another depression, Murray said workers were "caught in a desperate squeeze created by unchecked profiteering" engineered by monopoly industries that had combined to discredit the OPA and hold down wages.

Murray asked the Decontrol Board to reëstablish ceilings on food and to reinstate subsidies at the highest level permitted by Congress. He said prices could be rolled back through subsidies from two to three cents on milk, one cent a loaf on bread, ten cents a pound on butter, four cents a pound on margarine and six to 12 cents a pound on beef.

Lobbyists for the producers took up most of the Decontrol Board hearings with only slightly cloaked demands for still higher profits.

The powerful UAW already had served notice on Chrysler that within 60 days it would force higher wages to compensate for increased cost of living. Strikes, nation-wide ones, are on the way unless the government straightens out a discriminatory situation.

Agriculture Department officials, responsible for many of the price increases, admitted that in July the average family "unquestionably" faced the biggest food bills since the postwar inflation of 1920. OPA economists, in a gross understatement, were quoted as estimating that recent price increases would add $150 million a year to prices of durable goods. How far off this estimate was is easily demonstrated. Car prices have gone up at least $100. If only three million cars are sold in the next year that alone means at least $300 million to consumers.

In short, labor and consumers are paying. Corporations, with $50 billion in quick assets accumulated during the war, are collecting faster than ever before.

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Washington Wire—Potomac Dog Days

THESE are the dog days in Washington, which may account in part for the general gloom. If there are any new ideas, if there is any thinking of importance, any real leadership, the public is being kept in the dark. Where are all the bright young men who were here ten years ago, five years ago? The professors still here are writing histories instead of drawing blueprints for a brave new world. They used to inspire so much hope—and cause so much apoplexy in the proper quarters. Washington not long ago was full of men with ideas to save the country and the world. Where are the brilliant planners who surrounded Henry Wallace? What's happened to Wallace himself? Is he just in the wrong job? Or administration? The only original and imaginative piece of legislation to come out of Congress this year was the La Follette-Monroney plan for the reorganization of Congress. Everything else was of a routine nature, or at best a watered-down version of a good idea. "Chester Bowles," said Henry Wallace a few months ago, "is the most exciting man in the government." Now Bowles is gone and the practical politicians in Connecticut would like to smother him. Wilson Wyatt is fighting against great obstacles for more houses. Omar Bradley is struggling against a tradition-ridden bureaucracy for just treatment for the veteran. But Wyatt and Bradley are on the fringe. The center of the Administration is slow and plodding. There's a sterility about Washington—perhaps about the whole country—that is too reminiscent for comfort of the languorous days of Calvin Coolidge.

Bob La Follette was a man the Senate could ill afford to lose. He was one of the handful in that body with a good brain and the strength to use it honestly. He attended committee and Senate sessions faithfully. He was probably the Senate's ablest parliamentarian. He seldom talked about Wisconsin cheese. He was an admirable individual in every respect. Yet, and this is not easy to say, I think he was growing stale. The isolationist fight took something out of him. He bitterly resented the isolationist label. La Follette reached great heights in the thirties. It was thrilling to watch him in debate. But after 1940 something happened. He was out of step with his old friends. And I think he must have realized that his Senate days were numbered.

La Follette was the third prewar isolationist Senator to be defeated at the polls this year. Senator Shipstead (R, Minn.) and Senator Wheeler (D, Mont.) were eliminated in July. Senator Willis (R, Ind.) was repudiated by the Indiana Republican Convention, but not on issues.

I checked to see what had happened to the 31 Senators like La Follette, Wheeler, Shipstead and Willis who voted against Lend-Lease in 1941. Eighteen of the 31 have now been defeated, have retired or have died. Thirteen, including such "reformed" isolationists as Senator Vandenberg (R, Mich.), are still in the Senate. All of the extreme isolationists, with the exception of Senators Brooks (R, Ill.), Langer (R, N. D.) and Butler (R, Neb.), are gone.

Despite the official denials, there's a bitter White House fight between Robert E. Hannegan, chairman of the Democratic National Committee and Postmaster General, on the one hand, and John W. Snyder, Secretary of the Treasury, on the other. From all accounts, Snyder has won. Hannegan, therefore, told the President that he would remain as party chairman only until the fall elections. Now the President is trying to prevail upon him to reconsider his decision.

As a practical politician Hannegan believes that the only hope for the Democratic Party lies in alliance with labor and liberal voters. It is a remarkable position for the man who in 1944 led the conservative fight against Henry Wallace and brought about the nomination of Harry Truman as Vice President. But Hannegan has worked closely with the CIO and the political-action committees since the 1944 presidential campaign. He has been bitterly attacked by Southern congressmen because of that relationship.

For nearly a year the fight has been raging. Snyder, with the support of John R. Steelman, Director of the OWMR, and George E. Allen, Director of the RFC, has urged a conservative course. Hannegan has plugged for more liberalism in the Administration. He arranged the Jackson Day dinner this year at which the President and Wallace made fighting New Deal speeches.

But the conservative triumvirate has triumphed over Hannegan. They have influenced nearly all the recent appointments, while Hannegan has been ignored. Last month Hannegan left on a trip around the world with the assurance that Gael Sullivan, his protégé, would be named Director of the Budget Bureau. Instead, James Webb, a conservative Southerner, was appointed after being sponsored by Snyder and O. Max Gardner, Under-secretary of the Treasury.

Hannegan submitted a slate for appointment to the Economic Advisory Council, but his recommendations were completely ignored.

The President continues to assure Hannegan that he has confidence in him and that he wants him to continue to direct the party program. It is anybody's guess whether the President can change Hannegan's mind and prevail upon the kingmaker to stand by his king.

Notes.—I have just seen a new book by Louis Adamic, scheduled for August 28 publication, which I believe will cause a mild sensation. The title is *Dinner at the White House*. It presents a fascinating picture of Roosevelt, Churchill and Mrs. Roosevelt. . . . The OPA these days is being called the price-raising, instead of the price-control agency. . . . The President's vacation companions include only three policy officials: Snyder, Steelman and Allen.

Washington T. R. B.

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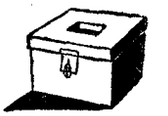
Political Roundup—The Score to Date



FORTY-ONE states have now completed their primary elections. Only Colorado, Connecticut, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Nevada, New York and Rhode Island have not chosen candidates for the November showdown between the parties. Voting almost everywhere has been light even for an off year. No sharp national trend is discernible, but it is clear that the Eightieth Congress will look a good deal different from the Seventy-ninth and perhaps a good deal better to the liberal eye.

Fifty-eight members of the Seventy-ninth Congress will not be back; 12 Senators and 46 Representatives have already been eliminated. Five Senators and 16 Representatives have been defeated; the rest were not candidates for reëlection. CIO-PAC director Jack Kroll is taking credit for PAC in both categories. The PAC opposed four of the Senators defeated thus far: Gossett (D, Idaho), Radcliffe (D, Md.), Shipstead (R, Minn.), Wheeler (D, Mont.); and voted against La Follette (R, Wis.), although it took no official stand on his candidacy. Kroll implies that a good part of those incumbents who decided not to run again feared PAC opposition. And he claims at least partial credit for the PAC for the defeat of 14 of the 16 House incumbents eliminated to date: Peterson, Tarver and Gibson (D, Ga.), Cannon (D, Fla.), Weaver (D, N. C.), Boren, Johnson and Wickersham (D, Okla.), Hare (D, S. C.), Daughton (D, Va.), Slaughter (D, Mo.), Winter (R, Kan.), Rodgers (R, Pa.), and Wasielewski (D, Wis.). On the PAC score sheet, Luther Patrick of Alabama is the only House incumbent who had support and lost.

Independent scorekeepers point out that the PAC has not included in its count the campaigns against such men as Byrd, McKellar, Bilbo and Howard Smith, which were lost. The figures of these experts show 16 PAC-endorsed candidates to have won primaries to date and eight to have lost, with the PAC itself an issue in many more contests.

Veterans of World War II have thus far won in 35 primary races and lost in 17. The best conclusion seems to be that it helps a candidate to be a veteran only if he has something else to offer the voters.

In general this year, liberals have still found it much easier to defeat a bad congressman than to elect a good one. The progressive score up to now is good. Ninety-nine percent of the incumbents defeated have been reactionaries. But the hard job is still ahead in the general elections. Their outcome depends almost entirely on the size of the vote: whether liberals will upset the tradition of a small vote in an off year and thereby increase the Democratic majority in the next Congress. Or will the following GOP dream, taken from the current issue of the *Republican News* come true?

> You can figure on victory.
>
> Off-year elections favor Republican candidates. 1946 is an off year. Even without the advantage of a scandal-plagued, wasteful and bureaucrat-infested opposition the odds would favor Republicans. Add it up your own way:

	R. In Senate	R. In House
1936	17	89
1938 (off year)	23	169
1940	28	162
1942 (off year)	38	209
1944	38	190
1946 (off year)	Rep. Control	Rep. Control

Wisconsin.—Those commentators who reported that the nomination victory of Judge McCarthy over Bob La Follette was tantamount to election in Wisconsin should look back at the 1944 results. Howard McMurray, running against Republican Senator Alexander Wiley that year, polled 525,000 votes to Wiley's 610,000. The Progressive candidate, Harry Sauthoff, polled another 75,000. Nineteen forty-four was a year of defeatism among Wisconsin liberals. The Roosevelt forces counted the state lost and made no campaign there. You can count on a different spirit this year.

WHAT HAPPENED IN WISCONSIN
By Howard J. McMurray
Democratic Candidate for Senator

La Follette went down to defeat in what those not cognizant of Wisconsin politics today term a surprise. There is no surprise whatsoever to the people in Wisconsin. The significant facts are as follows:

La Follette had an outstandingly isolationist record up to Pearl Harbor, has voted isolationist since that time on such significant measures as the Connally Resolution and the British Loan.

La Follette at Portage in May of this year buried his Progressive Party and tried to take the liberal and labor groups, which had formerly supported him, back into the reactionary Republican fold.

La Follette, who had twice been reëlected on the Progressive ticket with the open support of President Roosevelt, decided in 1944 to turn his back on the President and spoke of the New Deal with its "tarnished record of failure."

The Democratic Party of Wisconsin is today a growing, virile organization led by Roosevelt-Wallace liberals straight across the board. Its candidates support a far more liberal platform than has ever before been offered to the voters of the state by any major party. The chief fight against La Follette's isolationism and Republican toryism was carried on not by the successful Republican nominee, Judge Joseph R. McCarthy, but by the Democratic Party, whose nominee for the Senate I have the honor to be. Labor in Milwaukee, Kenosha and Racine counties refused to follow La Follette into the Republican fold. La Follette's defeat was not a defeat for liberalism in Wisconsin. It was a defeat for isolationism, Republicanism and political opportunism.

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Facts About Veterans

THERE IS an extraordinary demand for specific information as to the rights and benefits of veterans of World War II, from the veterans themselves and from those who are called upon to advise and assist them on their return to civilian life. The provisions now in force are exceedingly complex and often difficult to understand. While far from being complete, the following catechism may help to throw some light on veterans' privileges as well as on what has been accomplished so far.

How Many Veterans Are on Relief?

On June 22, 1946, veterans receiving or having applied for unemployment allowance under the GI Bill of Rights numbered 1,800,380.

How Much Does the Veteran Get?

The allowance amounts to $20 per week while the veteran is completely unemployed, for periods ranging from eight to 52 weeks, depending on the length of active service. In case of partial employment, the amount of wages for the week in excess of $3 is deducted from the allowance.

What About Eligibility?

The veteran must have been discharged or released under conditions other than dishonorable after active service of 90 days or more, or by reason of an injury or disability incurred in the line of duty. He must reside in the United States; be completely unemployed, or if partially employed, at wages less than $23 per week; be registered with and reporting to a public employment office; and be able to work and available for suitable work.

What About Self-Employed Veterans?

Veterans engaged in full-time self-employment may apply for an allowance if their net earnings for a month fall below $100. The veteran receives the difference between his net earnings and $100 for a limited period, depending on length of service.

How Many Veterans Enjoy these Benefits?

As of June 1, 1946, 360,000 veterans had collected a total of $90 million under this program. About 90 percent of those receiving allowances were engaged in agriculture. The monthly number of applications for these benefits rose from 33,000 in December, 1945, to 308,408 in May, 1946.

How Many Veterans Study Under the GI Bill?

At the end of May, of a total of 839,454 veterans making use of the educational benefits of the GI Bill, 610,931 were in schools proper and 228,523 were receiving job training.

How Long May the Veteran Study?

He is entitled to at least one year of study, plus the time he was in active service between September 16, 1940, and the end of the war, exclusive of any period of assigned specialized training, but not to exceed a total of four years. Study must be undertaken not later than four years after discharge or the end of the war. The veteran is paid a subsistence allowance of $65 per month if he has no dependent, or $90 per month if he has one or more dependents.

How Much Does the Institution Get?

The Veterans' Administration pays to the educational or training institution the veteran's tuition, laboratory, library, health, infirmary and similar fees. It may also pay for books, supplies, equipment and other necessary expenses. But in no event may these payments exceed $500 for a school year.

What About Vocational Rehabilitation?

A veteran with a vocational handicap due to a service-connected disability is eligible to receive training leading to his vocational rehabilitation. He is allowed a minimum of $105 per month which consists of subsistence plus disability pension. A married veteran receives a minimum of $115 per month, another $10 per month for the first child and $7 per month for each additional child. For a dependent parent he may receive an additional $15 per month. At the end of May, 86,542 disabled veterans were receiving these benefits.

What Kinds of Loans Can the Veteran Get?

Loans may be made to veterans in several ways, depending mainly upon the purpose for which the money is to be used. The GI Bill, as amended by the Act of December 28, 1945, provides for automatic guaranteed loans for the purchase, construction or repair of homes, farms, business property or equipment.

How Are the Loans Made?

They are made directly by any ordinary lending institution, with a maximum of 50 percent being guaranteed automatically by the government. Ceilings are fixed, however, on the amounts which may be guaranteed—a $2,000 top for non-real estate loans; a $4,000 top for loans involving real estate. Loans must be made within 10 years after the war's end.

How Many Loans Have Been Made?

As of July 27, 1946, more than 16,000 veterans have borrowed $48 million in GI business loans to finance careers ranging from exterminating pests to playing in the Philadelphia Symphony. The loans averaged $2,941, with the Veterans' Administration's guarantee averaging $1,259. Less than one percent of the borrowers has failed so far to meet payments, forcing the government to pay off only $105,341.

What Is the Bonus Situation?

There is no federal bonus, but six states—Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Illinois, Rhode Island and New York—have made provisions so far for bonuses total-

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ing close to $1 billion. Maine and Michigan are also considering some action. The payments differ. Illinois pays $10 per month for domestic and $15 for foreign service. New York will pay between $50 and $250 depending on length and kind of service. (Payments will probably not begin for at least another 16 months in New York, pending ratification of a constitutional amendment and a popular referendum.) Massachusetts pays a bonus ranging from $100 to $300; New Hampshire, $100; and Vermont, $120.

What About Terminal-Leave Payments?

A total terminal-leave payment of $2,431,000,000 to an estimated 15 million former enlisted men has recently been passed by Congress. Terminal-leave pay is calculated on the basis of furlough time not actually taken and counted at 2.5 days per month. Payments would average $165 and be made, if above $49, mostly in five-year government bonds. The bonds would be negotiable only if used in payment of premiums on government (wartime) life insurance, or (permanent) national life insurance, or in converting one to the other, or in payment of a policy loan on such insurance made prior to July 27, 1946. Those who prefer to retain the bonds would receive interest at the rate of 2.5 percent and would then be able to collect face value at maturity.

What Is the Housing Situation?

Home building has jumped from a dead halt to near-record levels in the first five months of 1946. By May 31, 1946, 400,000 homes had been started. There is optimism that the year's goal of one million units will be reached. However, the Veterans' Emergency Housing Program is seriously threatened by inflation. At present sales prices and rentals, which must be under $10,000 or $80 a month respectively, are not low enough to meet the needs of the vast majority of former GI's.

What Are the Veteran's Re-employment Rights?

A veteran is entitled to reinstatement in his former position with a private employer, or to a position of like seniority, status and pay if: (1) the position was not a temporary one; (2) the veteran left the position to enter military service; (3) he has completed his service or training satisfactorily; (4) he is still qualified to perform the duties of the position; (5) his application is made within 90 days after discharge and (6) the employer's circumstances are not changed in such a way as to make reinstatement impossible.

How About Seniority Rights?

The veteran shall be restored without loss of seniority. However, there is much debate as to the interpretation of this provision.

On the question whether a veteran is entitled to reëmployment for one year even though he replaces a non-veteran of greater seniority, the courts are divided. Sustaining the view that a veteran is entitled to preference during his first year of reëmployment is *Whirls v. Trailmobile Company* (DC Ohio, 1945). However, in a case involving lay-off during a slack season, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals held that a veteran does not have preference in employment over a non-veteran of greater seniority. See *Fishgold v. Sullivan Drydock and Repair Corporation* (DC N. Y. 1945).

What About Medical Care?

The veteran is entitled to free hospitalization for service-contracted disability, or if he claims inability to pay for other disabilities. The law provides for many benefits, including hospitalization or domiciliary care and medical treatment, with provisions for transportation and clothing where necessary. In addition, provision is made for out-patient treatment and for the supply of necessary prosthetic appliances.

How Many Veterans Are Hospitalized?

The total number of veterans taken care of in hospitals and homes is almost 100,000. In 1945 the stay of a general patient in a hospital averaged 38.6 days; of a tuberculosis patient, 173.9 days; of a psychiatric or mental patient, 370.4 days; and of a neuro-psychiatric, other than mental, patient, 54.7 days.

How About Mental Hygiene Clinics?

There are approximately 14 mental-hygiene clinics established by the Veterans' Administration's regional offices. Their expansion depends on the availability of facilities and competent staffs.

What About Veterans' Organizations?

The great majority of veterans who have joined any organization belong to the Big Two—the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The former has set itself a quota of three million new members and is well on the way to reach that figure. The VFW has absorbed about 800,000 new members who far outnumber the organization's prewar 200,000. The American Veterans of World War II (Amvets) is, with 60,000 members, one of the largest of the new organizations. Its avowedly "middle of the road" policy is still largely undefined. The liberal American Veterans' Committee also has about 60,000 members, but its vigorous political activity has given it prestige and influence far out of proportion to its numbers. All of these figures, which are as of August 1, are tentative and in constant flux.

Walt Partymiller in the Gazette and Daily *(York, Pa.)*

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The Full-Employment Bubble

by Nathan Robertson

Less than a year ago Henry Wallace was being denounced by the conservatives for talking about the postwar need for 60 million jobs. Conservative economists called him a dreamer, asserting 53 to 55 million would be enough jobs for all. Wallace cited the census statistics; they still scoffed.

Now, only a year after the war's end, more than 60 million Americans (including those in the armed forces) are at work—proving that even in peace there are that many people who want to work if they can get jobs and decent pay. Millions of war workers have quit and gone home, but there are still more than 60 million at work—and millions more expected when the veterans have caught up with their education or the vacations they have waited years to enjoy.

But now the conservatives are laughing at Wallace and the New Deal economists who had forecast widespread unemployment after the war and had warned that it would take planning to get full employment. Look, they say, we have full employment already without all this fancy planning you were talking about. Let us alone, and free enterprise will do the job.

Wallace and the New Deal economists still insist that they were fundamentally right—just as right as they were in their forecasts of 60 million workers. They are convinced—and the figures seem to support them—that we are now in the midst of a temporary boom founded on sand that will wash away with the first severe economic tidal wave.

These economists admit they were wrong in the timing of their pessimistic forecasts, but they say nothing has happened in the past year to soften the long-range problem, and much has happened to make it tougher. This country still has a serious basic imbalance between productive power and purchasing power that will spell economic disaster unless corrected in time.

Furthermore, say these economists—who were usually correct in their forecasts before and during the war—the price inflation through which we are now moving will hasten and deepen the economic blow.

Here is the real story as I have pieced it together after talking to many of the best informed of these economists during the past few days.

We are enjoying a temporary boom today because a number of fortuitous circumstances have for a while concealed our basic economic imbalance. Among these ameliorating factors are the heavy postwar demand for consumer goods, both in this country and abroad, the long deferred business demands for expansion of plant and equipment, the expansion of war-depleted business inventories and the speculative fever which has accompanied the rise in prices.

The Basic Discrepancy

These things have tended to obscure and temporarily to balance off the basic discrepancy between the goods we produce at full employment and the goods we can sell under the existing distribution of income and wealth. The goods are moving now—as fast as they can be produced—because of the deferred war demands, the accumulated purchasing power in the hands of consumers and the financing we are providing for foreign purchasers of our goods.

But an analysis of the economic picture today shows that the old bugaboo of insufficient purchasing power is still with us and is real enough to warrant deep study and careful planning for the future.

We have more than 60 million workers on the job (including the Army and Navy), producing about $185 billion worth of goods and services annually, at present prices. These jobs provide income payments totaling about $160 billion a year. Out of this about $140 billion is left after taxes. That is the aggregate spendable income. But workers are saving about $20 billion of this and spending only $120 billion. The rest of our production is being bought by our federal and local governments out of taxes, by our business corporations and by foreign purchasers.

And here is the heart of the problem. In addition to the $20 billion which individuals are currently putting away, corporations are saving almost $15 billion a year—making a total of almost $35 billion annually withdrawn from purchasing power. That may shrink somewhat as heavy consumer goods such as houses and autos reach the market in quantities, but most economists believe $25 billion is an extremely low minimum estimate of annual savings at full employment.

This $25 billion of deferred purchasing power must be counteracted year in and year out by one means or another if we are to continue to enjoy full employment. At present our savings are being balanced off in this way:

Business capital expenditures, including residential housing, which is largely bought on credit and therefore balances off savings, accounts for about $17 billion a year.

Nathan Robertson, for many years a leading Washington newspaperman, and winner of the Heywood Broun Memorial Award in 1944, recently resigned from the Washington staff of PM *and is now an associate editor of the* New Republic.

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Through foreign loans and UNRRA, we are currently exporting almost $5 billion a year more of goods and services than we are buying from abroad.

Business inventories, catching up with current demands, are expanding at the rate of about $4 billion a year—and some economists place the figure considerably higher.

We are still financing some government purchases through deficits.

To depend on these counteracting influences indefinitely, economists believe, is like building a house on quicksand. Some of the most competent economists think we can count on the following in the long run:

An export balance of $1 billion to $2 billion a year, though it may run somewhat higher for the next few years.

However, it can't stay much higher than that for long unless we plan to continue giving loans abroad and never ask repayment.

Inventory accumulation of perhaps $1 billion a year to provide for constantly expanding business under a full-employment economy.

If we figure on long-run annual savings of about $25 billion a year—which is a low figure—that will still leave an imbalance between purchasing power and production of about $22 billion or $23 billion which will have to be balanced off by business-capital expenditures, residential housing or, if nothing else is available, by government deficits to keep the goods moving.

A Fantastic Estimate

Any such figure as $22 billion a year for business-capital expenditures, plus housing, is a fantastic amount in the light of previous experience. The highest total we have reached in peacetime before this year is $15.6 billion in the boom year of 1929—and it didn't last. Neither do the economists believe that today's figure of $17.5 billion will last indefinitely. The 1939 figure was only $9 billion.

But the point is that in order to maintain full employment without government deficit financing we must count on expenditures for business investment and housing to run indefinitely at a figure far higher than we have ever dreamed. And what happens if they shrink? Either we slide into a depression that may make 1929 look like a picnic, or we take action to forestall it.

That action can be carefully planned in advance, as under the full-employment bill, to provide the goods and services the people need, or can be hastily devised in the last desperate hours, as it was during the depression of 1929-32.

The first alternative would have us ready to throw into the breach such projects as the Missouri Valley Authority, the St. Lawrence Seaway and other river developments; plus heavily financed government-housing and public-health programs. The second alternative would leave us little choice but to go back to the WPA and the PWA with billions wasted on made work or inadequately planned work or direct relief.

Room for Error

In this analysis of the situation, the economists admit there is room for some error. Estimates of how much people with a given income will save are only guesses—although they are based to a large extent upon past experience. How much business will invest in capital expansion is another guess—which depends more on public psychology than almost anything else.

But most of the economists believe the estimates made here are optimistic—that the figures may turn out to be much less rosy. They say, for instance, that savings per year may continue to run closer to $35 billion than $25 billion. While consumers are expected soon to begin pouring more money into durable goods such as housing and automobiles, refrigerators and washing machines, will this be additional spending or will it take the place of some of the spending they are now doing at a record-breaking rate on non-durable goods such as clothing, food and luxuries?

Furthermore, as prices rise, the available purchasing power will buy less and less goods unless there is a better division of business profits between labor and ownership. Business profits, except in the reconverting industries, already are at the highest level in history. Current price rises will push them still higher, but without another general boost in wage levels will make goods that much harder to sell.

Profits are running so high that corporations are probably saving more than they are spending (even at the present high level) for capital expansion. Ordinarily capital expansion should be amortized over a period of years, but the corporations are making so much that they can virtually pay for their capital expenditures out of current savings. Undistributed profits of corporations are running at a level of about $5 billion a year. In addition corporations are saving $8 billion or $9 billion a year in depreciation and other reserves. Total business expenditures per year for capital expansion, including unincorporated business, are running at only about $14 billion.

Another big factor in the over-all situation is that productivity in the reconversion industries has been at a low level because of inexperienced workers and shortages of materials and equipment. As productivity rises—unless it is accompanied by sharp wage increases --there will be more goods to sell, but no more purchasing power to match the increased production.

What happens, too, when the deferred wartime demands have been met and when the already small war savings are exhausted in the lower-income brackets, where mass purchasing power resides? Where will the goods be sold?

It's a frightening picture, when you look under the surface.

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Report on Russia

IV. An American Loan to the USSR

by Earl Browder

ON MY RETURN from Moscow I found that our country's long silence on the question of a loan to the Soviet Union had given way to considerable garrulity in explaining why we cannot make such a loan. I have some definite opinions on this question, and when the *New Republic* editors asked me to express them I readily agreed, even though these opinions are considered unorthodox by all "established" schools of thought.

My visit to Moscow confirmed my opinions, although I did not discuss this particular question with anyone there and my views are peculiarly American and my own.

The recent announcement that no conversations are progressing for a large American loan to the Soviet Union is generally interpreted as a sign of the much-advertised "get-tough" attitude—that the United States is somehow "disciplining" the USSR for daring to express itself differently on many international questions. This whole conception of the question is, in my opinion, quite unrealistic and unsound. It proceeds upon the unspoken assumption that American loans are some kind of largesse distributed by a rich uncle among his less fortunate relatives, a "favor" of some sort which carries an obligation on the part of the borrower to assume the relationship and attitude of "client" to "patron."

It seems to me that the USSR will not be interested in discussing a loan of any size or duration upon such a basis. It is equally my opinion, however, that the USSR will be seriously interested in a big, long-term loan when both sides have reached a common basis of judging such a loan as a strictly business proposition between equals—as mutually advantageous and necessary.

That is to say, a loan will become a practical issue when the United States abandons the "ideological" approach to it which is unrealistic because there does not yet exist the common ground in ideology which was made the chief justification for the loan to Britain. A big loan to the USSR must be justified on the businesslike and non-ideological ground that it will be repaid and that its use will improve the economic position of both borrower and lender. This businesslike approach is, if I am any judge, the one that is adopted by the leaders of the Soviet Union.

Strangely enough, it seems to be our American specialists in finance, the bankers, who take the lead in establishing the supremacy of "ideological" considerations over the realistic approach.

LOANS IN OUR OWN INTEREST

The mass of American citizens seems to be unconscious of the fact that expansion of our foreign market is a matter of life and death for the American economy in the next few years, and that big loans will be an essential feature of such expansion. The general public does not realize that such loans are demanded by American self-interest as much as by the interest of the borrowing nations. Until this fact becomes the pivot of our political and economic thought, America will not have a realistic policy toward the Soviet-loan issue.

Our country is now living under illusions created by the wartime shortages of commodities and the seemingly inexhaustible domestic market. These illusions make the foreign market appear non-essential, something that can be ignored, where we can indulge our whims, prejudices and ideologies without restraint and without fear of untoward consequences. Truman's warning of last January that "no backlog of demand can exist very long in the face of our tremendous productive capacity" is forgotten or laughed off.

In view of the "ideological," doctrinaire approach of American financial leaders and the public apathy which is fostered by illusions of the self-sufficiency of the domestic market, the prospects of an American loan to the Soviet Union would not seem to be bright. It begins to look as though this country cannot get down to brass tacks until it finds itself in serious trouble. Only when the present sellers' market, with its rosy illusions, is gone, when America is up against the buzz-saw again, when the imperative "sell or die" is again enforced by glutted warehouses and mass unemployment—only then can we be sure that our present light-hearted attitude toward foreign loans will be taken up

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This is the fourth in a series by Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party of America, who was expelled from party membership this year.

The New Republic, *which believes in liberal democracy, is of course opposed on principle to communism. We publish Browder's series for its intrinsic interest and value.*

The fifth article, to appear next week, will describe everyday life in Soviet Russia today.

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for review and revision. It seems to be impossible for our country to foresee problems and provide their solutions in advance without the compulsion of catastrophic difficulties.

As an American I am interested in a big loan to the Soviet Union because of the benefits it will bring to our own country. I consider such a loan doubly sound because it would also bring benefits to the Soviet Union and to the rest of the world. Such a loan is the factor, above all others, which holds the promise of breaking the log-jam obstructing the stream of world economic reconstruction.

Fighting Our Customers

The American "ideological" approach to foreign loans conceives of these loans as weapons to halt and turn back the world trends toward state-organized and state-directed economies, whether socialist or capitalist, toward something approximating the American conception of "free enterprise."

This attitude is a self-defeating one. Because of the existing relation of forces in the world, our policy brings about the opposite of its aim: instead of enlarging American participation in world trade it is minimizing it; and instead of halting the world trend toward state-controlled economies it is further strengthening this trend. The present American attitude toward foreign loans is doomed to frustration for the reason that the existing socialist system in the Soviet Union and the nationalization of industries on a capitalist basis in the rest of Europe (to some extent also in Asia and Latin America) are so strongly based and deep-rooted as to resemble the immovable object of the ancient conundrum of physics much more than the American opposition to it can approximate the irresistible force.

This conflict of policy between our country and most of our potentially largest customers promises to play such havoc with the future development of world trade as to become a major barrier to the most rapid rehabilitation of the world, and thereby a major threat to our own economic stability.

The confusion surrounding this issue is not clarified by stating it in terms of an abstract principle of "intervention" or "non-intervention" by the United States in the affairs of other countries. The tragic history of the Spanish Republic since 1936 is an example of how "non-intervention" is only a misleading label hiding the worst kinds of practical interference in the affairs of other countries.

It is a fact of life, whether we like it or not, that every policy—or lack of policy—on the part of the United States has profound consequences upon the lives of other nations and constitutes "intervention," therefore, of an effective kind. The problem is not whether the United States "intervenes" in this sense (that is quite unavoidable), but whether the United States is capable of intelligently guiding the "intervention" in a way to promote economic and political stabilization and world peace.

It was, for example, unquestionably sound policy for the United States to declare, as did Roosevelt with China, that our maximum economic assistance to that country depended upon the avoidance of civil war, the establishment of a stable regime through a coalition government, peace between Kuomintang and Communists and the beginnings of democratization.

The fault in this policy is that it is not consistently defined and applied. Under former Ambassador Patrick Hurley it was quickly turned into exactly the opposite of what was intended, and only that gentleman's quick resignation prevented a major explosion in China last year. There seems no doubt whatever that General Marshall has been making a heroic effort to apply this policy in the spirit of Roosevelt. His apparent lack of success so far is perhaps evidence that other and contrary influences from the United States are working in the opposite direction. Thus it seems that even our best declarations of policy relating to foreign loans develop a fatal ineffectiveness. As a result we are becoming known throughout the world as a nation showing wide variance between its word and its deed. When Madame Sun Yat-sen, who is truly a friend of America as well as of the Soviet Union, finds it necessary to propose publicly that the United States withdraw its influence from China's internal development because its net result is to increase the danger of civil war, then we know that American reactionaries, whispering in Chiang Kai-shek's ear, are exerting more influence than General Marshall, speaking officially as Envoy Extraordinary.

The British Loan

The handling of the British loan further revealed how confused and self-defeating is America's course today. Here was a loan which was fully approved by the dominant American "ideological" consideration, in addition to being justified on economic grounds. But the British were left in suspense for seven months, themselves committed to the loan but uncertain if America would carry through the bargain. Little wonder they even considered calling off the whole transaction rather than wait indefinitely to know what was going to happen to their economy. It must have frightened them to know that their fate depended upon a debate in Congress and upon a vote of men whose ignorance of Britain and the world was demonstrated by that debate to be colossal. It is very doubtful whether the Soviet leaders would ever permit themselves to be placed in such a humiliating and dangerous position as that in which the British found themselves during the long congressional debate on the British loan.

Most damaging feature of the British loan, however, was its use as springboard for a campaign of

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hostility to the Soviet Union. Mr. Churchill's trip to America and his speech in Fulton, which set the tone for too many speeches in Congress, presented the loan to the world as a measure directed against the Soviet Union rather than one for world peace and stabilization.

Now if the British loan is only part of an Anglo-American effort to line up the world for war against the Soviet Union (and that is the impression given the world by the speeches of Vandenberg and others), it has become folly even to discuss the question of world economic stabilization and reconstruction.

America will have to make up its mind: Is our foreign-loan policy directed toward world peace and economic reconstruction, or is it an instrument to prepare the line-up of a new war? The alternatives are mutually exclusive; they cannot be combined.

International Horse Trading

This ambiguity in America's attitude is given theoretical justification by those who consider international relations a field for the sharp bargaining of the "horse trade," or the "bluff" of a poker game. This attitude considers such ambiguity a virtue, and the sharper its form, the better the bargain which is expected.

I cannot judge the virtues of this approach to horse-trading or poker-playing; perhaps these methods are effective in their own field—at least I cannot deny it, knowing little of either pastime. But I am quite sure that the transference of this approach to the field of international relations is damaging and dangerous in the extreme, that it is unsound and that it ignores past experience and present facts. It can bring no good to America or to the world.

The poker-playing, horse-trading approach to the Soviet loan assumes that the USSR needs the loan more than the United States needs to make it and that therefore the longer we delay it and the more clearly we outline an alternative and hostile policy, the more profitable a bargain we shall eventually strike with the Soviets.

My impression is that the least profitable conclusion for America will be reached by this path. Much better results could be had by a frank and friendly approach, such as FDR obtained with such excellent results in winning the war.

It is true that the Soviet Union would find it advantageous to buy American goods in large quantities, which would require big, long-term credits. Stalin is reliably reported to have spoken in such terms to several American politicians and businessmen, mentioning a figure of $6 billion. This envisions a volume of trade of considerable significance. There is no doubt of Soviet ability to make profitable use of such quantities of American goods, to place detailed orders for them without delay and to meet terms of payment on schedule. The Soviet Union has all the required characteristics of a "first-class customer."

The United States, because of its enormous accumulation of idle capital, needs new fields of foreign investment as much as it needs markets to sell its goods. It needs fields for investment abroad where its capital is fully safeguarded without the necessity of quick repayments, which America is unprepared to receive in goods in sufficiently large volume; that is, it needs fields for *long-term* loans. For such requirements the Soviet Union is a made-to-order customer. It will buy goods in a volume limited only by American capacity to furnish them; it can give American investment capital the most certain and solid field of investment for long-term loans of corresponding size.

The United States must have such customers, for without them our economic system has no prospect of maintaining itself for long without a major crisis.

The Soviet Union would gain equal benefits with the United States from the development of such economic relations; but if they are not developed, the Soviet Union suffers less harm thereby than we do, for it will have no market crisis, no internal weakening or threat of breakdown with mass unemployment, such as menaces our country if we fail to expand our foreign markets to the maximum.

Rivalry without War

The Soviet market is, of course, only a fraction of the world market. In the short run it will play the biggest role because it is prepared to place orders immediately and guarantee payment most surely. In the long run, given a peaceful world, other markets will develop in larger volume for United States trade. America's readiness to trade on a maximum scale with the Soviet Union will be decisive, however, for the *whole future of the world*, because in this issue we decide whether America is really, in deeds as well as words, moving toward a peaceful and stable world.

Underlying all economic questions is the issue whether the United States is ready to work out the rivalry between the capitalist and socialist systems within the framework of "one world" from which resort to war has been excluded, or whether we consider a military solution to be inevitable.

I must say that in Moscow I could find no trace of the idea of "inevitable war," but only of a "possible war"; whereas in the United States there is a growing volume and weight of opinion toward "inevitability," toward fatalism. To think of a possible war is necessary to prevent it from happening; to think of an "inevitable" war helps to bring it to pass.

A recent American book described in its title what is America's alternative—*One World or None*. This is not the expression of any ideology. It came from a group of American scientists and public figures of all ideologies except Marxism. It is a recognition that a war would be suicide and that there can be no victors.

The definite abandonment of war as a solution to

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the rivalry between capitalist and socialist systems does not, of course, abolish that rivalry. This will continue within the framework of "one world" more surely and for a longer time than it could in two mutually exclusive worlds. But it will work itself out in other forms.

If we wish a peaceful "one world," then all those detailed policies—or lack of policy—which make sense only as preparation for war, must be systematically discarded by us. This means that our foreign-loan policy must be directed toward expanding economic relations equally with the Soviet Union as with Britain and equally with the countries of nationalized industries as with those nearer the American ideal of "free enterprise." The system of economic interchange between capitalist and socialist sectors, and between "free enterprise" and state-controlled sectors, must be built up and stabilized, else the concept "one world" will prove to be a chimera.

Both the capitalist and socialist systems, under such a world relationship, will have to turn more and more to the satisfaction of the needs and desires of their peoples as the measure of achievement and victory in the rivalry between two systems.

Do the leaders of capitalist America lack the confidence to face this form of rivalry with socialism? If they do, they are displaying a weakness Stalin does not show.

Land Reform in China

by Lawrence K. Rosinger

Peiping (by airmail)

ONE OF THE GREAT land revolutions of history is now taking place in Chinese Communist territory, according to Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, and Liu Shao-chi, member of the powerful Political Bureau, second to Mao in the Communist leadership. The widespread distribution of land to the peasants is a striking postwar development which has reached its climax only during the past two months. Although the methods vary from place to place, it is said to affect a large part of the 130 million residents of the Communist areas (as of the end of July, 1946).

I was told in Yenan that the territory involved covers roughly two and a quarter million square kilometers in Manchuria and about a dozen provinces of China proper, and that the only section in which the new land program is not being carried out is the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region of which Yenan is itself a part. This area of one and one-half million people experienced an important measure of land distribution in the old Chinese Soviet days, and since then many landlords have sold plots to their tenants.

In a recent interview with this correspondent, Mao Tse-tung declared: "The masses in the liberated areas want to solve the agrarian question. They are not satisfied with mere reduction of rents. Today it is necessary to carry out Sun Yat-sen's policy of 'land to the tillers'. During the past ten years we have at least three times persuaded the peasants to put off their land demands. Now Japan has been defeated, and the people are asking for land."

Two days later Liu Shao-chi, who took over part of Mao's work during the latter's illness some months ago, enlarged on these remarks. "We did not want to change our policy after the war," he told me, "but millions of peasants have risen and demanded agrarian reform. They are right, and we cannot oppose them."

METHODS OF DISTRIBUTION

From 1936 until the end of the war with Japan—that is, for almost a decade—the Chinese Communists followed a land program centering on the reduction of rents, interest rates and taxes. Distribution of land by the government was confined to the property of pro-Japanese elements or landlords who had run away during the war. The purpose of this policy was to raise the living standards of the peasants and give them a cause to fight for, while not producing a dangerous political cleavage between landlords and peasants that would weaken the military struggle against Japan. During the Chinese Soviet period in the late twenties and first half of the thirties, the Communists had unhesitatingly distributed the lands of the rich among the poorer peasants. The policy followed today may be viewed historically as a return to some aspects of this early program, with many of the conciliatory features of the war period. As Liu Shao-chi said, "Whether this mass movement can be mitigated is a question to be considered. We support the just demands of the people while we persuade them to use milder measures."

The most striking method used by the peasants in securing land is known as *ch'ing suan*, or "settling accounts." According to Liu, "Throughout Chinese history it has happened that landlords have taken the land or animals of the peasants by force, raped their women and inflicted other injustices on them. During the war of resistance the Japanese levied very high taxes in the occupied areas, but the landlords shifted the burden

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to the peasants; and in some of the [Communist-controlled] liberated areas rent reduction was not in fact carried out. In both these cases the people have risen to express their dissatisfaction and to get back all they lost to the landlords. This is known as 'settling accounts.' Since the landlords often do not have money to repay the peasants, they may be forced to pay in land."

There are other ways in which the land-hungry peasants have gained property. Sometimes, as a result of the earlier policy of rent and interest reduction, landlords have decided to sell their land to the peasants. If a landlord finds that his rents are insufficient and that he could do better by becoming a cultivator himself, he can give part of his land to the tenants (sometimes receiving a little money from them) in exchange for the right of taking back the rest of his land for his own use. Finally, certain types of land have long been subject to confiscation under the laws of the Communist areas: the lands of traitors, Japanese, or the old family of the Manchu Emperors in Jehol province. Land seized from the peasants by force, or land which has been concealed from the government to avoid payment of taxes, is also confiscated.

The Party and the Peasants

The methods of "settling accounts" and confiscation (in the types of cases just mentioned) were applied by the people on their own initiative, according to Liu. "There were many mass meetings," he said, "in which millions of people took part. These were called 'complaint meetings' and were designed to complain of the people's sufferings and the landlords' actions. This movement has been spontaneous, and the Communist Party leadership only plays such a part as to persuade the peasants not to kill the landlords, not to confiscate shops and factories owned by them—since this would be detrimental to the development of industry and commerce—and not to take so much land that the landlords cannot make a living."

Mao Tse-tung stressed that "in many places the peasants themselves act so fast that the Communists lag behind." An interesting sidelight on the movement was revealed by Liu's statement to me that "many Communist Party members come from landlord families, and their lands have also been taken by the peasants." The Communist leadership, he said, was trying to persuade the peasants to be generous with landlords who had made contributions in the war of resistance.

Mao also stated that the Communist leadership was considering the question of issuing land bonds to landlords whose property had been taken—except for traitors and the worst elements of the rural gentry. Such a step, altering the aspect of outright confiscation, would involve the government's paying the landlords in bonds that would mature in 10 or 15 years. Although the various administrations in the liberated areas would issue the bonds, the money for them would be levied through taxes on the peasants, adjusted to the amount of land each peasant has acquired. The effect would be to lessen the opposition of the landlords and some urban middle classes and to soften the struggle of landlord and peasant by interposing the State as buffer. Mao declared that this course had not finally been decided upon, but "we are inclined to issue the bonds."

Any searching examination of China's problems reveals clearly that the breakup of an outmoded land system is an essential factor in modernizing the country and raising the mass standard of living. Since three-quarters of the Chinese people live on the land, agrarian reform also holds the key to a healthy industrialization of China and the creation of a great Chinese market for goods from other countries.

It is true that legitimate differences of opinion may exist over the technique of executing Sun Yat-sen's program of "land to the tillers," but disagreements over procedure cannot obscure the fact that land reform in China means progress. At present the Chinese Communists are the only people in this country who are carrying out basic agrarian changes; the Kuomintang has a land program, too, but it exists only on paper.

In the short run the fact that millions of peasants in Manchuria and North and Central China have now become property-holders suggests that they will be an element of increased strength on the Communist side in the civil-war struggle. It is true that some groups in Communist territory have been antagonized, but numerically they are likely to be few. To the bulk of peasants in the liberated areas victory for the Central Government may seem synonymous with the return of the landlords to economic power. This is an aspect of the current situation that overshadows all the political maneuvers in Nanking and even the day-to-day fighting. It is an aspect which also deserves much more attention than it has so far received in the United States.

Vicky in the London **Daily News** Chronicle

In Gay Paree

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The Best Is None Too Good

by Ralph G. Martin

NO QUESTION about it, said the vice president of the University of Missouri. Veterans here are a healthy influence on education. They work harder, make their teachers work harder and raise standards all over the place.

It was too bad that the country's colleges weren't really prepared for the veterans. But when the University here bought 165 government trailers, it was a gamble. Who could be sure that veterans would even live in trailers? And nobody ever thought that the housing situation in town would get so terrible. Nobody even imagined. . . .

Now it is too late to get any more trailers, and there are almost 900 married veterans on the waiting list. The state just gave them $6 million to build permanent brick apartments, but materials are hard to find. Temporary barracks are being put up, but the vets will still be a little crowded—144 to a big barrack. It is too bad we couldn't see what was coming and plan for it. Because there's no question about it, the best is none too good for our veterans. . . .

HOUSING

In Trailer Number 335, 26 feet long and eight feet wide, live Jon and Marion Moon and their baby daughter, Sandy. Complaints?

"Let's walk around and you can see for yourself."

Big, shiny, private trailers sit so close to small, warped ones that their radio programs seem to merge. A man mows a pitifully small lawn, only three steps each way. Flowers and vines and curtains try to color some of the drabness. The bottom covering of one trailer is so torn that you can see water dripping down from the icebox into a smelly, stagnant puddle crowded with flies. Mothers yell for their kids. The stink of the garbage shed, overflowing cans, more flies. A small boy carries a big pail of water to his trailer.

In the center of the camp stands a white wooden house badly in need of a paint job. Here are the toilets, showers, washing machines. The washing machines are all broken, the women's showers scummy dirty and there are quick-crawling roaches everywhere in the toilet, under a sign saying, "Remember, this is your HOME. Keep it clean."

"They've just tarred our trailer roof for the eighth time to try to stop it from leaking," said Marion Moon. "Sometimes we wake up in the morning and there's an inch of water on the floor. The main reason we're so worried is that Sandy is susceptible to pneumonia; she's already had it three times. But then one of the maintenance men told me that all these government trailer roofs are rotten. You can ask Mr. Ashlock. . . ."

I spoke to thin, sad-looking Norman Ashlock, who was sitting in his corner office in Jesse Hall, with maps of the three trailer camps, a pin for every trailer. Behind each pin are people like the Robert Sconce family. Their trailer roof sagged so in the center that Bob bumped his head every time he stood up, and the stove broke down in the winter when it was so cold they hardly had enough covers for the baby. And there were 12 other specific complaints.

When they saw Mr. Ashlock he referred them to Mr. Johnson of the Veterans' Administration, who referred them to Mr. Brady, vice president of the University, who referred them back again to Mr. Ashlock. And when Ashlock finally came around to investigate, he walked inside the trailer and stood up and bumped his head.

"Mr. Ashlock, what do you do about these leaky roofs?"

"We keep tarring them."

"But it doesn't seem to be working. . . ."

"You got me," he said, shrugging his shoulders and smiling weakly. "I don't know what we can do. They're all old trailers, you know. One thing about trailers, there's not much room to dodge leaks, is there?"

And what about the icebox dripping, scummy showers, broken washing machines, roaches?

"That's what we hire maintenance men and janitors for. That's their job. Besides, you seem to forget that those veterans are lucky to be in those trailers in the first place. A lot of vets don't have any place at all to live."

SOCIAL LIFE

The beautiful campus here, with the ivy-covered columns and the greenery, is quiet. There are lots of people, but not much noise. No rah-rah college spirit. The faces are older, more serious.

At Gablers, the jukeboxes are still screaming, but the faces are those of the outnumbered teen-age freshmen, their razz-ma-tazz only slightly subdued. Most veterans take their dates elsewhere, someplace where they can get beer and quiet. They enjoy plays and concerts, too. This year, for the first time, there are going to be repeat performances of every concert.

For married veterans, who have to pinch pennies, social life is made up of an occasional bridge game, a rare movie, long walks in the moonlight.

"If we only had some privacy," said one dark-haired

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woman. "I like my neighbors, but we all wish we weren't so close together, so cramped. I've almost forgotten what it feels like to walk into my own bathroom."

For the wives of veterans, there's only the monotony of conversation, waiting for their husbands to come home. And when the men get through with classes they've got homework and studying to do.

"When I went to college before the war, I went to have a good time," said ex-Marine Randall Mitchell. "Now I want to learn something."

They're not kids now; they've been in a war.

Finances

Do you know what $90 a month buys today, Mr. Government?

"Sure, my wife and I live on $90 a month sometimes," said Norman Holman. "But that's when we don't do anything. I mean things like shows and ice-cream parlors. That also means no clothes. I'm still wearing my Army stuff. What's more, my brother brings us meat and vegetables from his farm every once in a while. But even then. . . ."

The University takes care of maintenance, subtracts costs from the rent, hands the rest over to the Federal Public Housing Authority. Rent until recently was $15 a month. The University announced that it just covered costs. Then the FPHA raised rents ($5 more if you had other income, $3 if you hadn't).

The veteran who can't get a trailer, the married veteran who was number 700 on the waiting list, has to try to find an apartment or a room in a cellar that sometimes costs as high as $65. Some have bought trailers with their savings, hoping to sell them after graduation. For a single vet, it is a question of finding a bed anywhere. If it costs too much, he doesn't go to college.

A tall, thin man said he had spent $1,100 of his own money since he had come to college. He considered himself lucky, he said, because he had the money to spend. He had been a lieutenant. "But what about the poor Joe who was an enlisted man, who wasn't able to save as much as I was?" he wondered.

"My question is," he said, "Is a college education worth all this?"

Education

The hell with snap courses.

That's their attitude now. They say: "I'm interested in what I can get out of this course, what I can really learn. And I want a prof who teaches, not preaches. I've had enough indoctrination. I'm not the schoolboy I used to be. I'm not just going to copy down every word he says. If I disagree, I'm going to question; if I don't understand, I'm going to find out why."

It's a big problem, said David March, political science teacher, also a veteran. Teachers have to change their whole approach. They are no longer teaching merely 17-year-olds; mostly they teach mature men.

To teach these mature men, Missouri is now hiring a new crop of young ex-high-school teachers, teachers who still emphasize the conjunctive adverb instead of the thought, who ask test questions on dates instead of history.

"I'm getting out of here. What's the point of going to college when I get some dumb young punk of a teacher who isn't any older than I am and doesn't know much more? Everything he's taught me, I could have got out of a textbook. He practically reads the thing. And we've got 250 guys in our class."

His friend was listening quietly, then added: "It's true that what a guy learns in college depends largely on himself; but in college they're supposed to make it easier, not tougher."

Arthur Ferrer shook his head. No matter what anybody said, he was grateful and happy to be here. College had always been a dream of his. If it weren't for the Army, he'd never be here. He had never even graduated from high school, had had to pass an entrance exam to get in here. What he couldn't get out of teachers, he'd get out of books. Maybe the Army gave him a rheumatic heart, but it gave him a chance for a college education. No sir, he just didn't have anything to bitch about.

"These veterans are all so important," said one professor, "because they're going to run the world, and if they don't run it well, we're just not going to have a world.

"At a time when our colleges should offer the best teachers and the best education, they're the most inadequate. We still haven't made the decision whether we should fully educate 500 or half-educate 1,000. I just hope we make that decision before it's too late."

Merry-Go-Round: 1946

Ride, child, the lion is a wooden lion,
The gorgeous tiger but a painted thing;
Ride this tired planet with perennial hope
Of catching prized brass ring.

Faster and faster jangling music plays
In bright cascades of wild discordant chime;
Swiftly a picture world about you spins
While you stand fixed in time.

Terrors and splendors of this carrousel
Are but brief images in mirror-glass,
And he who snares the shining ring receives
At most a ring of brass.

FREDERICK EBRIGHT

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Letter from Tokyo—Learning Democracy

MAYBE IT's all right—this increasing talk that Japan is practically a democracy; that the Allied military occupation may be shorter than at first contemplated; that the success of the occupation policies has been so great that a conditional time limit for the present phase of the occupation may be considered before the end of this year. But such talk scares many thoughtful people here who view it as evidence that some are mistaking the ingrained habit of obedience of the Japanese people for an overnight mass change of heart. That hasn't happened yet. There is no guarantee that if the old crowd showed up again they would not be obeyed as slavishly as MacArthur.

When I hear glib predictions that the job here is halfway complete—that "once you beat the hell out of the military boys, the Nips are okay"—I recall a talk I had recently with Yukio Ozaki, the 87-year-old democrat who has been sitting in the Japanese Diet from its inception and who through 15 years opposed every move of the militarists.

I asked Ozaki how long it would take to convert Japan into a genuine democracy. His answer: "With luck and perseverence, three generations!"

The Japanese are not overly impressed with the trend of the occupation. Too many members of General MacArthur's "brain trust" are going home and being replaced by men of lesser caliber before the job is more than begun. There is a growing tendency to deal gently with the forces of privilege; a proneness to believe that the Japanese people can be transformed into democrats by next Tuesday, at the latest, by means of a MacArthur directive.

This is not to say that there are no solid achievements. Recently, at a meeting of the Privy Council and Ministers of State with the Emperor at the Imperial Palace, an Imperial Prince declared, "Japan must live up to the new constitution, whoever wrote it!" And before Japan could sincerely live up to its renunciation of war, it must achieve internal peace and unity. What, he asked, were the government's policies for ending political unrest, labor unrest, social unrest?

Moreover, continued the Prince, if the Imperial System were to survive, the Throne had to mean something positive in the life of every Japanese; to be linked with the political and social policies of the government.

When even the Privy Council has to listen to protests against the notion that Japan can sail into the Golden Age on a sea of democratic slogans, that spells progress!

And then there is the Tokyo War Crimes Trial, outstanding contribution to Japan's education to date.

Many intelligent Japanese are already asking why all this careful procedure, this sifting of evidence known to any informed Far Eastern observer, this time-wasting talk? The answer is that the eventual fate of the 27 defendants is relatively unimportant. This is not a trial of a mere handful of Japanese war-crimes suspects—it is a trial of the whole Japanese nation, which would have been perfectly willing to share in the promised bonanza had the plotting of the Tojos, Itagakis and Doiharas won the war for it.

Japan is watching closely to see whether these men who kept the Far East in turmoil for 15 years get a fair trial. If they do, the effects will be profound.

Meanwhile, the trial promises to accomplish two vitally important aims: To demonstrate to the Japanese nation democratic court procedure and proceedings, including Western laws of evidence and the right of objection by defendants; and to disclose in the greatest detail the whole dark background of Japanese politics since 1928. Japan's newspapers and radio are spreading themselves in reporting the greatest "now it can be told" story in Japanese history.

THE SOVIET-AMERICAN BORDER

Tokyo is today an important frontier town located only a few miles from the United States-Soviet border. But it has been largely isolated from the world for most of the last decade. It is perhaps natural, therefore, that American-British-Soviet relations should loom even more menacing here than in Washington or London, and that the $64 question hereabouts is just where Japan should stand if. . . .

On the surface, of course, there is no question. General of the Armies Douglas MacArthur is at his desk in the Dai-Ichi Building, just across the road from the Imperial Palace. Japan is 100-percent occupied and controlled. And the motto is, "Depend on your Uncle Sam," and hurrah for democracy, boogie-woogie and hot dogs.

But it has occurred to some Japanese that they may not always be occupied and controlled. MacArthur may not be here forever. And when the MacArthur era comes to an end, American-Soviet relations will just keep rolling along. Therefore, say some in the Japanese government and outside it, it isn't too early to institute an analysis of Japan's position and to blueprint a Japanese policy for use when required.

Hence the question: What, if Russia and the Western democracies come to a showdown, should Japan do?

There exist two schools of thought. Majority opinion is that this nation should unhesitatingly line up on America's side. Minority opinion—and the minority in this matter is fairly substantial—is more cautious. It points out that if war with Russia found Japan teamed up with the United States, the Japanese islands would be in the position of an advance base, difficult to hold. The United States could in such a contingency lose Japan without losing the war. But what would be the fate of an overwhelmingly pro-American Japan occupied by Soviet forces?

Japan may be pardoned for being atomic-bomb conscious and for further pointing out that while dropping atomic bombs on Siberia would not worry the Kremlin overmuch, if Russia should send a few atomic visiting cards over to Japanese cities, this nation would be done for.

All of which, at 8,000 miles range, may sound like a very "iffy" question, unworthy of serious consideration. But not here.

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Slim, 48-year-old Mrs. Shizue Kato, better known as Baroness Ishimoto, has eight distinct careers: glamor girl, wife and mother, birth-control advocate, author, journalist, feminist, broadcaster and politician. The militarists jailed her for being so ill advised as to harbor all three of the most dangerous of all "dangerous thoughts" on the gendarmerie list: opposition to militarism, belief in democracy and advocacy of birth control.

Currently, Mrs. Kato (she married Kanju Kato, Japanese Socialist and trade-union leader, during the war) is a Socialist member of the Diet and the outstanding woman in Japan's parliament. And after attending its sessions for three months, Mrs. Kato has concluded that the present Diet is "untrustworthy" and that a "majority of its members came from the feudal forces within Japan."

She finds, from her seat on the floor of the Lower House, that so far as the reform of Japan's constitution is concerned, the primary question in the minds of ministers is how far the old feudal powers can be retained; and Premier Yoshida emphasizes that "Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration on the understanding our national structure shall not be changed."

No reasonable person would demand that Japan should adopt *in toto* American-style democracy or British-style democracy or Russian-style democracy. Whatever comes out of the crucible, the future pattern of any democratic Japan must take account of native institutions and habits of thought. But the plain fact is that Japan must vastly raise the quality of its legislators if it is to make any brand of democracy live and function. Too many of the present crowd shout democratic slogans but still think and vote according to the old thought processes.

Notes. – Speculations continue that Emperor Hirohito may abdicate after the signing of the peace treaty, leaving his brother Prince Yakamatsu to act as Regent until Crown Prince Akihito comes of age. . . . An unemployed Japanese General, asked the other day what he proposed to do now, replied: "I am going to stay quietly on my farm for five years, perhaps ten. By then it is probable I shall be needed again." . . . A Nisei civilian employee of the United States Army lost his bearings this week in a Tokyo suburb and asked a Tokyo police officer to direct him. The cop turned on the "Japanese" before him a long, shriveling glare, then barked: "That is no way to address me. You will remove your hat and bow and say, 'If it pleases you, would you have the goodness to direct me'. . . ."

Tokyo HESSELL TILTMAN

The Bandwagon

Socialized dentistry would ultimately lead to the "toothlessness of persons in the United States," Dr. Harvey J. Burkhart, described by his associates as the "dean of New York dentistry," declared yesterday. . . . He said that under regimentation a dentist would not get paid for filling cavities and therefore would not bother with them. Furthermore, he continued, even if there were arrangements made for dentists to care for inlay work, this country has not the manpower or facilities to do the job adequately. – *From the New York* Times.

The battleship Missouri was rushed to Istanbul and it was made quite clear that the United States was on the side of peace. – *From Drew Pearson's syndicated column.*

Compulsory grade labeling, frequently advocated by the government, he [Henry E. Abt, managing director of the Brand Names Research Foundation] said, would betray the consumer's confidence by eliminating the producer's responsibility to maintain high-quality standards. – *From the San Francisco* Examiner.

Laissez-Faire

Lancashire supplied two-thirds of the world's cotton textile imports. This expansion depended mainly, not on the winning of markets in competition with other modern industries, but on using our industrial lead to sell factory products to non-industrialized countries in which British political influence was used to maintain the British creed of Free Trade. – *From a report on cotton published by the Board of Trade, London.*

Achin'-Back Department

Causing more worry in many families than the menace of the atomic bomb is the shortage of maids. . . . Unless new and special service designed to lift much of the housewife's burden should be offered within the near future, or unless an increasing number of women who used to do housework and nursing should return to domestic situations, the life expectancy of women . . . will fall . . . to a point that may cause national concern. – *From a column by Edith Johnson in the Daily* Oklahoman *(Norman, Okla.).*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Indians in South Africa

SIR: I am writing you at this time since I feel that you will be interested in an issue which today threatens to impair the relations between two allied countries of the world—India and South Africa. . . .

South Africa is now in the midst of one of its cyclic phases of maltreatment against Indian citizens. A law recently passed deprived Indians of their property rights, relegated them to demarcated areas and offered them a third-class communal citizenship. The issue is no longer a local one. It has gained international significance and great principle is involved—namely, whether Indians, as such, will be allowed to live their lives in parts of the world outside India with any sense of self-respect and dignity. Your government has set a noble example in the recent Indian citizenship bill that it has passed. This is the standard that one expects other civilized countries to emulate.

The position has grown so untenable that India has reluctantly been forced to recall her High Commissioner from South Africa, to sever trade relations with that country and to apply economic sanctions against it. She has also lodged an appeal with the UN General Assembly. . . .

Under the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi and the wholehearted support of Nehru and the 400 million peoples of India, my countrymen in South Africa are at the moment

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urging a passive-resistance campaign against this unjust law. Nearly 200 have been sentenced to imprisonment at hard labor for occupying land which the law now prohibits them. . . .

ASHWIN CHOUDREE
Delegate, Resistance Council, and
Adviser, Government of India
New York City Delegation to the United Nations

Why 100,000?

SIR: Your article on Palestine in the August 12 issue of the *New Republic* once more calls upon President Truman to insist upon immediate entry of the 100,000 Jews into Palestine. I think it will be helpful if occasionally you would attempt to explain the basis on which this figure was chosen; one would have thought that the figure would either increase or decrease in time and not remain apparently permanently constant. Of course if there is some political idea behind the insistence, that would be sufficient explanation. Perhaps it was not an accident that the figure of 100,000 had been chosen by the Jewish Agency and by President Truman long before the Anglo-American Committee issued its report.

CECIL HOURANI
Washington, D. C. Secretary, the Arab Office

Philippine Politics

SIR: Last winter in Manila I heard Louis Taruc, one of Osmena's secretaries and a representative of the Democratic Alliance Party, speak at the Red Cross in front of a group of politically sharp GI's. At that time Osmena was expected to form a coalition with Roxas in the coming election, and his representative was continually embarrassed as he tried first to avoid discussing Roxas' collaboration and finally to condone it. The GI's booed him when, in answer to specific charges of flagrant abuses of personal freedom by the Osmena government, he said that law and order were the important things. He said that the Osmena government was grateful to Colonel Taruc for his brilliant guerrilla actions against the Japanese. A GI then asked him if the government imprisonment of Taruc immediately after the war was an indication of its gratitude. He had no answer.

Taruc argued very well against the government support of economic exploitation of the Filipinos and said that the Hukbalahap was not a political party, and in the coming election would support the Democratic Alliance. He impressed me as a courageous, intelligent leader. He was slim, straight, like steel, with a firing earnestness, a man whose mind was as well oiled as his guns must have been.

Surely Roxas, once president of a legislature that was reported to be 60-percent collaborationist months after the surrender of Japan, is in a hypocritical position when he denies Taruc, leader of thousands of people in North Luzon, a seat as a representative in the government. In January I heard in Manila that 15,000 rifles were issued to the Philippine Scouts for the coming elections. The 86th Division scandal was exploded in the Army newspaper *The Daily Pacifican* (now emasculated by censorship), which told that the division was being retrained on battle lines for expected political troubles. These two actions were of course aimed straight at the Democratic Alliance and the Hukbalahap. If Roxas were not opposed to agrarian reform, he would allow Taruc a seat. Instead he threatens and uses military force and then cries out at the violence of the Hukbalahap. The newspaper dispatches I now read daily are undoubtedly written from information received only from the Roxas side. . . .

The Filipinos seem wonderfully unaware of what is happening to them. I guess they have a history of nothing but exploitation. A working girl in Manila writes me: "Mr. Osmena was defeated because he is already old and he is not a pure Filipino, he belongs to a Chinese blood. The Filipinos wants Mr. Roxas to be the president because he is active and younger, the people wants also what Mr. Roxas will do to the Philippines to be progressive." Right now in the Philippines it seems like the Chinese story is being reënacted, and it is again a communist-influenced group out of the people which challenges the money lords. I dislike communism. Why is it that the Communists seem so often to support the right side while the United States Government and Army are irresistibly drawn to the wrong side?

Toledo, Ohio KENNETH MACRORIE

Student Federalists

SIR: Your readers may be interested to hear that students from many of America's leading colleges and universities will gather in Chicago during the week of September 1-7 to attend the fourth annual convention of Student Federalists, Inc. More than 500 students representing 70 chapters will spend five days studying various aspects of the world-government problem, participating in panel and round-table discussions in order better to understand their responsibility towards the world.

The organization is entirely student controlled and not affiliated with any other group or party. Its members must decide this year: First, whether Student Federalists, in addition to campaigning for "world government in our time," should take action on other current international issues; and second, whether the organization should support the principle of immediate limited world government, or favor a more inclusive world-federation goal.

Among those who have already accepted the invitation to address the conference are Charles Bolté, chairman of the American Veterans' Committee, Mortimer Adler, author of *How to Think about War and Peace*, Thomas K. Finletter, former assistant to the Secretary of State, Elmo Roper, public-opinion analyst, Dr. G. A. Borgese, noted Italian historian, and many of the leaders of Student Federalists.

New York City ELEANOR SCHNEIDER

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Harry Williams of 5972 Clemens Avenue, St. Louis, asks for material on Cyril Clemens for a biography he is writing.

Jura Hoffman of Hayward, California, tells us of the Council for Democratic Action, a new organization which has been formed in Hayward to "stimulate intercultural and interracial relations in the Hayward area and to combat anti-democratic forces in this area and in the country." The Board of Directors will be composed of members of various racial groups in the area and also of community groups. Plans are now under way for a fall program to stimulate public interest and to inform the citizens of the community of racial-discrimination problems. "Racial prejudice is not so bad as in many areas," he writes, "but the feeling can certainly be bettered."

The International Solidarity Committee to Aid Labor, Socialist and Democratic Anti-Fascists, 303 Fourth Avenue, Room 516, New York 10, writes that the greatest need among the Spanish anti-fascist exiles is for medicine and medical supplies. Sixty percent of them are suffering from tuberculosis, and others need care for wounds and sickness. The Medical Aid Section of the Committee has been set up to send these supplies to Spanish doctors. The Committee appeals to all doctors to send a package of medical supplies direct to a doctor who will put them to use, and will supply the name of a doctor and shipping instructions. All our readers are urged to contribute to this program.

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Books in Review

To the Nuremberg Court

THE NUREMBERG indictment charges 22 Nazi leaders with three major offenses: violation of the laws of legitimate warfare; waging a war of aggression; and crimes against humanity. In 1944, Sheldon Glueck pioneered with a volume on war crimes in which he discussed these three possible charges. He then urged that the Nazi leaders be prosecuted for their crimes against humanity and for the violation of the law and customs of legitimate warfare. He thought, however, that there was no adequate basis to consider launching an aggressive war an international crime. Today he has reversed his position. His new book[1] deals solely with the problem of aggressive wars and is devoted to the justification of the second count of the Nuremberg indictment which charges the defendants with "crimes against peace."

The book's main arguments center on one major theme: wars of aggression are, and can be punished as, international crimes because they are a violation of *customary international criminal law*. Glueck concedes that one cannot point to a specific provision of a convention or treaty that makes aggression a crime. But he maintains that:

> during the present century a widespread custom has developed among civilized states to enter into agreements expressive of their solemn conviction that unjustified war is so dangerous a threat to the survival of mankind and mankind's law that it must be branded and treated as criminal.

It is the violation of this custom which justifies, according to Glueck, the punishment of authors of aggressive wars. The theory is ingenious, ably presented and carefully documented. Yet it fails to convince the reader. To begin with, it is doubtful whether international agreements which, according to Glueck, have developed into a custom, have ever been actually entered into. He concedes that the Briand-Kellogg Pact does not make aggressive wars criminal, but he refers to nine additional sources, which he calls international "pronouncements." On closer examination one is left with the impression that treaties which *were* ratified failed to make aggression a crime, and that those which made it a crime failed of ratification.

But even if the sources gathered by Glueck proved the existence of a consensus of civilized opinion as to the criminality of wars of aggression, could this agreement be considered a "custom"? Is not custom, first of all, a pattern of *actual* behavior, a *de facto* observance of a rule? Thus, the fact that pirates, spies or unlawful belligerents have always been punished by all nations has created a custom, an international customary criminal law. The Statute of the International Court of Justice defines custom "as evidence of a general *practice* accepted by law." But no person has ever been "punished" for initiating or waging a war of aggression. However, both Jackson and Glueck contend, if there has been no such custom until now, we may start one: "our own day has its right to institute customs." But many a student of law and society will be inclined to disagree with the suggestion. Customs, indeed, like a civilization of which they are the fabric, are the result of slow and largely unconscious processes leading to generalized behavior patterns. Jackson is right when he insists that a new custom "must have a beginning": all customs had one. But their beginning was never called custom.

A new practice or a new rule can be justified on grounds of policy only. Unfortunately, however, the discussion of questions of policy, of wisdom and desirability of the punishment of aggressors is conspicuously absent from Glueck's book. He expressly declares, in fact, that the question whether or not it was wise to include the aggression charge in the indictment "is one of policy beyond my ken." This position strikes at the book's significance as a whole and at the persuasiveness of its major theme. For no layman, statesman or lawyer will—or should be—convinced that war of aggression *is* a crime unless at the same time he is satisfied that it *ought to be* one.

IN SUBSTANCE, the issue involved in Glueck's book is the age-old question of "society's right to punish," this time asked with respect to the international community. Beccaria's classical answer to that question, given almost two centuries ago, still holds good. No body politic can, he said, in punishing a criminal, have another aim or justification "than that of preventing the criminal from causing new harm and of deterring others from doing likewise." The four elaborate counts of the Nuremberg indictment certainly were not needed for the incapacitation of the particular 22 individuals now being tried. The Nuremberg Trial may be justified only if it serves the purpose of deterring others. The question before us is, therefore, whether or not it can be expected that the punishment of the Nazi aggressors will restrain future aggressors.

The modern movement to outlaw war is distinctly American in origin. In the message which led to the Pact of Paris, Briand referred to "outlawry of war" as an American expression. The expression appeared first in an article by S. O. Levinson, published in the *New Republic*, August 27, 1924. Its author, a Chicago attorney, eventually became the founder and chairman of the American Committee for the Outlawry of War. But the law as expounded by the Nuremberg charge differs from the ideals of the original movement in two important respects.

First, the outlawry movement and its Magna Carta, the Borah resolution, called for *a judicial substitute* for war in the form of a permanent international court having jurisdiction to pass on all international disputes, controversies or claims which until now have been solved by war. Without that provision, outlawry of war does not make sense. As long as no peaceful way for the redress of

[1] The Nuremberg Trial and Aggressive War, by Sheldon Glueck. Foreword by Justice Robert H. Jackson. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 128 pages. $2.

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grievances is open, the choice is only too often one between unjust peace and just war, between slavery and rebellion, colonial status and a war of independence. Of course not all wars are a rebellion against injustice, and the Nuremberg indictment outlaws only unjust, aggressive wars, such as the one brought about by Hitler and his accomplices. Here in fact lies the second major difference between the Nuremberg theory and American outlawry movement, which always advocated the outlawry of *all* wars. As long as there is no way of adjudicating international disputes in advance of war, the victor will judge the vanquished. The weaker party will not only lose the war; he will also be punished for it. But where national enthusiasm is needed for victory, no belligerent can afford *not* to brand the opponent as a barbarous aggressor and a threat to civilization. There will hardly ever be a victor unable or unwilling to describe the vanquished as an aggressor. And, what is worse, there will never be a war leader who will doubt his opponent's readiness to treat him as an aggressor and as a war criminal—*regardless of the way in which he had conducted the war.*

The unwisdom of the new principle that aggressive war is a crime lies exactly in the attitude the principle is bound to create on the part of the belligerents. If the Nuremberg indictment were limited to its most convincing charges—crimes against humanity and violation of laws of legitimate warfare—the trial and execution of the Nazi leaders could become a landmark of international justice, a genuine contribution toward a better—or less grim—international future. A war leader, as well as an underling, could be led to consider, in the very midst of a desperate struggle, that not everything is lost for him, that being defeated does not make him *ipso facto* a war criminal, that he can escape the death penalty by avoiding and preventing mass murder, sadism, execution of hostages or killing of prisoners.

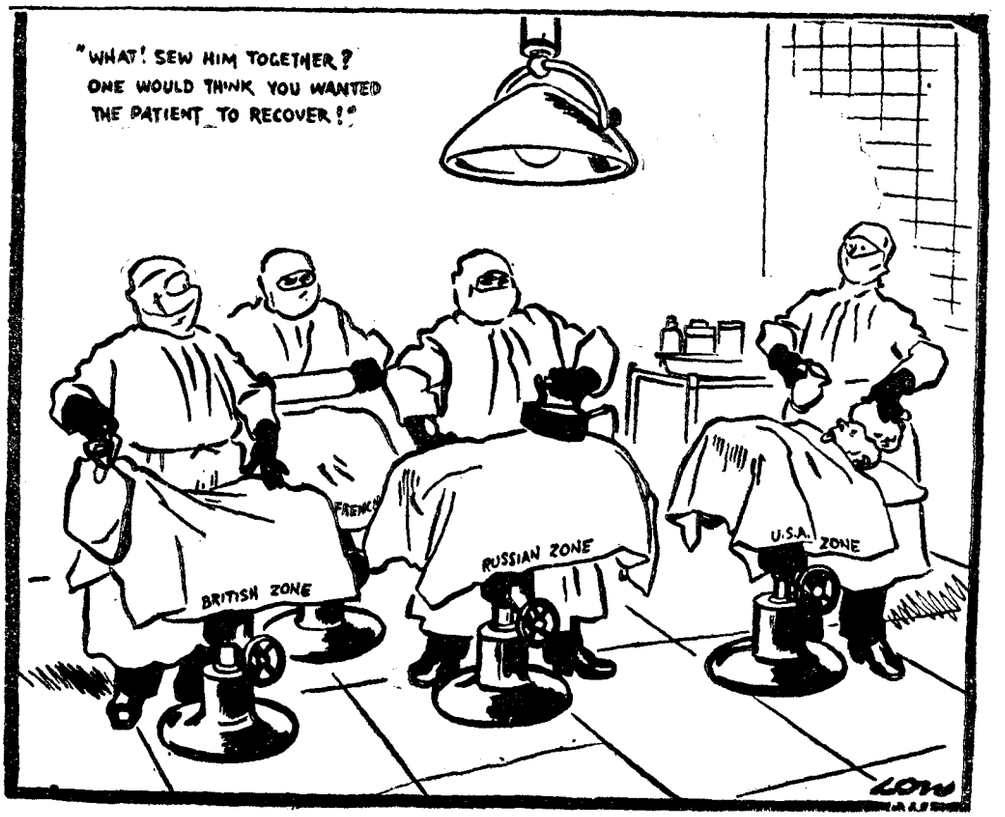
Many delicate devices of criminal law—such as the refusal to punish kidnaping by death except when the victim is killed—are based on the probability of such a state of mind. Glueck cites the pronouncements made by Allied statesmen during the last war to prove that the Nazi leaders received a fair warning of their coming fate. These warnings, however, refer to "acts of barbarity," "regimes of terror," "mass expulsions," "massacres," "execution of hostages," "violence against civilians," "atrocities," "uncivilized and inhumane acts"—never to the initiating, launching or waging of an aggressive or unjust war. The reason for the omission is obvious. To tell Hitler and his henchmen that they will be executed because they started the war was no way to stop them from murdering hostages. If we punished *all* kidnaping with death, we would leave the life of the kidnaped person without the protection of an additional sanction. Once adopted, the new doctrine would corner all future belligerents into the mentality of desperadoes: unless they win, their fate is sealed, no matter how they conduct the war.

Fortunately, however, the war-crimes chapter of international law is still in the making. The International Military Tribunal may still hold (in agreement, incidentally, with Professor Glueck's original position) that crimes against humanity and the laws of warfare must be punished, but that wars of aggression are not or may not now be treated as an international crime, or at least not as a capital crime. To execute the Nazis for having waged a war (or a war of aggression) is, historically speaking, to leave unpunished their crimes against humanity and the laws of legitimate warfare. To punish alike what fear of punishment can, and what it cannot, curb, means not only to drain the sentence of its potential deterrent efficiency. It means, by the same token, to deprive it of its ultimate ethical justification. For no punishment is legitimate unless it helps in the building of a better world.

ALEXANDER H. PEKELIS

Low Again

All that most people need to be told about a book of cartoons by Low is that it exists. "Years of Wrath," just published by Simon and Schuster ($3.75) is the third such collection to appear in the United States under the same imprint. The book has many new cartoons; it covers 14 years ending in September, 1945, and gives a cross section of the best work of the world's leading political cartoonist. The drawing reprinted is, we feel, a good example of Low's draftsmanship, his fundamental simplicity of idea and his freedom from nationalistic bias.



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Cowley's Faulkner[1]

ONE of the most important remarks in Cowley's introduction is that concerning humor. There is, especially in the later books, "a sort of homely and sober-sided frontier humor that is seldom achieved in contemporary writing." Cowley continues: "In a curious way, Faulkner combines two of the principal traditions in American letters: the tradition of psychological horror, often close to symbolism, that begins with Charles Brockden Brown, our first professional novelist, and extends through Poe, Melville, Henry James (in his later stories), Stephen Crane and Hemingway; and the other tradition of frontier humor and realism, beginning with Augustus Longstreet's *Georgia Scenes* and having Mark Twain as its best example." The observation is an acute one, for the distortions of humor and the distortions of horror in Faulkner's work are closely akin and frequently, in a given instance, can scarcely be disentangled.

It is true that the most important strain of humor in Faulkner's work is derived from the tradition of frontier humor (though it is probable that he got it from the porches of country stores and the court-house yards of county-seat towns and not from any book), and it is true that the most spectacular displays of Faulkner's humor are of this order—for example, the "Spotted Horses" episode from *The Hamlet* or the story "Was." But there are other strains which might be distinguished and investigated. For example, there is a kind of Dickensian humor; the scene in the Memphis brothel from *Sanctuary*, which is reprinted here under the title "Uncle Bud and the Three Madams," is certainly more Dickensian than frontier. There is a subdued humor, sometimes shading into pathos, in the treatment of some of the Negro characters and in their dialogue. And there is an irony ranging from that in the scene in *Sanctuary* where Miss Reba, the madam, in offended decency keeps telling Temple, "Lie down and cover up your nekkidness," while the girl talks with Benbow, to that in the magnificently sustained monologue of Jason at the end of *The Sound and the Fury*.

In any case, humor in Faulkner's work is never exploited for its own sake. It is regularly used as an index, as a lead, to other effects. The humor in itself may be striking, but Faulkner is not a humorist in the sense, say, that Mark Twain is. His humor is but one perspective on the material and it is never a final perspective, as we can see from such an example as the episode of "Spotted Horses." Nothing could be more wide of the point than the remark in Maxwell Geismar's essay on Faulkner to the effect that Faulkner in *The Hamlet* "seems now to accept the antics of his provincial morons, to enjoy the chronicle of their low-grade behavior; he submerges himself in their clownish degradation." All the critic seems to find in Mink Snopes' victim with his life-long devotion to the memory of his dead wife, and in Ratliff with his good heart and ironical mind and quiet wisdom, is comic "descendants of the gangling and giggling Wash Jones."

The Poor White.—The above remark leads us to the not uncommon misconception about the role of the poor white in Faulkner's work. It is true that the Snopeses are poor whites, descendants of bushwhackers (and therefore outside society, as the bushwhacker was outside society, had no "side" in the Civil War but tried to make a good thing of it), and it is true that Snopesism represents a special kind of villainy and degradation, the form that the pure doctrine of exploitation and degradation takes in the society of which Faulkner writes, but any careful reader realizes that a Snopes is not to be equated with a poor white. For instance, the book most fully about the poor white, *As I Lay Dying*, is full of sympathy and poetry. There are a hundred touches like that in Cash's soliloquy about the phonograph: "I reckon it's a good thing we aint got ere a one of them. I reckon I wouldn't never get no work done a-tall for listening to it. I dont know if a little music aint about the nicest thing a fellow can have. Seems like when he comes in tired of a night, it aint nothing could rest him like having a little music played and him resting." Or like the long section toward the middle of the book devoted to Addie Bundren, a section which is full of eloquence like that of this paragraph: "And then he died. He did not know he was dead. I would lie by him in the dark, hearing the dark land talking of God's love and His beauty and His sin; hearing the dark voicelessness in which the words are the deeds, and the other words that are not deeds, that are just the gaps in peoples' lacks, coming down like the cries of geese out of the wild darkness in the old terrible nights, fumbling at the deeds like orphans to whom are pointed out in a crowd two faces and told, That is your father, your mother." Do these passages indicate a relish in the "antics of his provincial morons"?

The whole of *As I Lay Dying* is based on the heroic effort of the Bundren family to fulfill the promise to the dead mother, to take her body to Jefferson; and the fact that Anse Bundren, after the heroic effort has been completed, immediately gets him a new wife, the "duck-shaped woman" with the "hard-looking pop-eyes," does not negate the heroism of the effort nor the poetry and feeling which give flesh to the book. We are told by one critic that "what should have been the drama of the Bundrens thus becomes in the end a sort of brutal farce," and that we are "unable to feel the tragedy because the author has refused to accept the Bundrens, as he did accept the Compsons, as tragic." Rather, I should say, the Bundrens may come off a little better than the latter-day Compsons, the whining mother, the promiscuous Caddy, the ineffectual Quentin and the rest. The Bundrens, at least, are capable of the heroic effort, and the promise is fulfilled. What the conclusion indicates is that even such a fellow as Anse Bundren (who is not typical of his family, by the way), in the grip of an idea, in terms of promise or code, is capable of rising out of his ordinary level; Anse falls back at the end, but only after the prop of the idea and obligation have been removed. And we may recall that even the "gangling and giggling Wash Jones" has always been capable of some kind of obscure dream and aspiration (his very attachment to Sutpen indicates that), and that in the end he achieves dignity and manhood.

[1] This concludes Mr. Warren's review of *The Portable Faulkner* (Viking, $2.), the first part of which appeared in the issue of August 12.—THE EDITORS

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The final and incontrovertible evidence that Snopes is not to be equated with poor white comes in *The Hamlet* (though actually most of the characters in the book, though they may be poor, are not, strictly speaking, "poor whites" at all, but rather what uninstructed reviewers choose to call by that label). The point of the book is the assault made on a solid community of plain, hard-working small farmers by Snopeses and Snopesism. Ratliff is not rich, but he is not Flem Snopes. And if the corruption of Snopesism does penetrate into the community, there is no one here who can be compared in degradation and vileness to Jason of *The Sound and the Fury*, the Compson who has embraced Snopesism. In fact, Popeye and Flem, Faulkner's best advertised villains, cannot, for vileness and ultimate meanness, touch Jason.

The Negro.—In one of Faulkner's books it is said that every white child is born crucified on a black cross. Remarks like this have led to a gross misconception of the place of the Negro in Faulkner's work, to the notion that Faulkner "hates" Negroes. For instance, we find Maxwell Geismar exclaiming what a "strange inversion" it is to take the Negro, who is the "tragic consequence," and to exhibit him as the "evil cause" of the failure of the old order in the South.

This is a misreading of the text. It is slavery, not the Negro, which is defined, quite flatly, as the curse, over and over again, and the Negro is the black cross in so far as he is the embodiment of the curse, the reminder of the guilt, the incarnation of the problem. That is the basic point. But now and then, as a kind of tangential irony, we have the notion, not of the burden of the white on the black, but of the burden of the black on the white, the weight of obligation, inefficiency, etc., as well as the weight of guilt (the notion we find in the old story of the plantation mistress who, after the Civil War, said: "Mr. Lincoln thought he was emancipating those slaves, but he was really emancipating me"). For instance, we get hints of this notion in "Red Leaves": one of the Indians, sweating in the chase of the runaway Negro who is to be killed for the Man's funeral, says, "Damn that Negro," and the other Indian replies, "Yao. When have they ever been anything but a trial and a care to us?" But the black cross is, fundamentally, the weight of the white man's guilt, the white man who now sells salves and potions to "bleach the pigment and straighten the hair of Negroes that they might resemble the very race which for two hundred years had held them in bondage and from which for another hundred years not even a bloody civil war would have set them completely free." The curse is still operative, as the crime is still compounded.

The actual role of the Negro in Faulkner's fiction is consistently one of pathos or heroism. It is not merely, as has been suggested more than once, that Faulkner condescends to the good and faithful servant, the "white folks' nigger." There are figures like Dilsey, but they are not as impressive as the Negro in "Red Leaves" or Sam Fathers, who, with the bear, is the hero of "The Bear." The fugitive, who gains in the course of the former story a shadowy symbolic significance, is told in the end by one of the Indians who overtake him, "You ran well. Do not be ashamed," and when he walks among the Indians, he

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is "the tallest there, his high, close, mud-caked head looming above them all." And Sam Fathers is the fountainhead of the wisdom which Ike McCaslin finally gains, and the repository of the virtues which are central for Faulkner—"an old man, son of a Negro slave and an Indian king, inheritor on the one hand of the long chronicle of a people who had learned humility through suffering and learned pride through the endurance which survived suffering, and on the other side the chronicle of a people even longer in the land than the first, yet who now existed there only in the solitary brotherhood of an old and childless Negro's alien blood and the wild and invincible spirit of an old bear." Even Christmas, in *Light in August*, though he is sometimes spoken of as a villain, is a mixture of heroism and pathos. He is the lost, suffering, enduring creature (the figure like Sam Fathers, the tall convict of *The Wild Palms*, or Dilsey in *The Sound and the Fury*), and even the murder he commits at the end is a fumbling attempt to define his manhood, is an attempt to break out of the iron ring of mechanism, to lift himself out of "nature," for the woman whom he kills has become a figure of the horror of the human which has surrendered the human attributes. (We may compare Christmas to Mink Snopes in *The Hamlet* in this respect: Mink, mean and vicious as he is, kills out of a kind of warped and confused pride, and by this affirmation is set off against his kinsman Flem, whose only values are those of pure Snopesism.)

Even such a brief comment on the Negro in Faulkner's work cannot close without this passage from "The Bear":

"Because they will endure. They are better than we are. Stronger than we are. Their vices are vices aped from white men or that white men and bondage have taught them: improvidence and intemperance and evasion—not laziness: evasion: of what white men had set them to, not for their aggrandizement or even comfort but his own—" and McCaslin

"All right. Go on: Promiscuity. Violence. Instability and lack of control. Inability to distinguish between mine and thine—" and he

"How distinguish when for two hundred years mine did not even exist for them?" and McCaslin

"All right. Go on. And their virtues—" and he

"Yes. Their own. Endurance—" and McCaslin

"So have mules:" and he

"—and pity and tolerance and forbearance and fidelity and love of children—" and McCaslin

"So have dogs:" and he

"—whether their own or not or black or not. And more: what they got not only not from white people but not even despite white people because they had it already from the old free fathers a longer time free than us because we have never been free—"

And there is the single comment under Dilsey's name in the annotated genealogy of the Compsons which Faulkner has prepared for the present volume: "They endured."

Technique.—There are excellent comments on this subject by Cowley, Conrad Aiken, Warren Beck, Joseph Warren Beach and Alfred Kazin, but the subject has not been fully explored. One difficulty is that Faulkner is an incorrigible and restless experimenter, is peculiarly sensitive to the expressive possibilities of shifts in technique and has not developed (like Hemingway or Katherine Anne Porter—lyric rather than dramatic writers, artists with a great deal of self-certainty) in a straight line.

Provisionally, we may distinguish in Faulkner's work three basic methods of handling a narrative. One is best typified in *Sanctuary*, where there is a tightly organized plot, a crisp, laconic style, an objective presentation of character—an impersonal method. Another is best typified by *As I Lay Dying* or *The Sound and the Fury*, where each character unfolds in his own language or flow of being before us—a dramatic method in that the author does not obtrude, but a method which makes the subjective reference of character the medium of presentation. Another is best typified by "Was," "The Bear," or the story of the tall convict in *The Wild Palms*, where the organization of the narrative is episodic and the sense of a voice, a narrator's presence (though not necessarily a narrator in the formal sense), is almost constantly felt—a method in which the medium is ultimately a "voice" as index to sensibility. The assumptions underlying these methods, and the relations among them, would provide a study.

Cowley's emphasis on the unity of Faulkner's work, the fact that all the novels and stories are to be taken as aspects of a single, large design, is very important. It is important, for one thing, in regard to the handling of character. A character, Sutpen, for instance, may appear in various perspectives, so that from book to book we move toward a final definition much as in actual life we move toward the definition of a person. The same principle applies to event, as Conrad Aiken has pointed out, the principle of the spiral method which takes the reader over and over the same event from a different altitude, as it were, and a different angle. In relation to both character and event this method, once it is understood by the reader, makes for a kind of realism and a kind of suspense (in the formal not the factual sense) not common in fiction.

The emphasis on the unity of Faulkner's work may, however, lead to an underrating of the degree of organization within individual works. Cowley is right in pointing out the structural defect in *Light in August*, but he may be putting too much emphasis on the over-all unity and not enough on the organization of the individual work when he says that *The Hamlet* tends to resolve into a "series of episodes resembling beads on a string." I think that in that novel we have a type of organization in which the thematic rather than the narrative emphasis is the basic principle, and once we grasp that fact the unity of the individual work may come clear. In fact, the whole subject of the principle of thematic organization in the novels and long stories, "The Bear" for instance, needs investigation. In pieces which seem disjointed, or which seem to have the mere tale-teller's improvisations, we may sometimes discover the true unity if we think of the line of meaning, the symbolic ordering, and surrender ourselves to the tale-teller's "voice." And it may be useful at times to recall the distinction between the formal, forensic realism of Ibsen as opposed to the fluid, suggestive realism of Chekhov.

Symbol and Image.—Cowley and O'Donnell have given acute readings of the main symbolic outline of Faulkner's fiction, but no one has yet devoted himself to the study of

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symbolic motifs which, though not major, are nevertheless extremely instructive. For instance, the images of the hunt, the flight, the pursuit, such as we have in "Red Leaves," *The Wild Palms*, the episode of "Peter Grimm" in *Light in August*, "The Bear," "Delta Autumn," "Was" and (especially in the hordes of moving Negroes) in *The Unvanquished*. Or there is the important symbolic relationship between man and earth. Or there is the contrast between images of compulsion and images of will or freedom. Or there is the device of what we might call the frozen moment, the arrested action which becomes symbolic, as in the moment when, in "An Odor of Verbena" (from *The Unvanquished*), Drusilla offers the pistols to the hero.

Polarity.—To what extent does Faulkner work in terms of polarities, oppositions, paradoxes, inversions of roles? How much does he employ a line of concealed (or open) dialectic progression as a principle for his fiction? The study of these questions may lead to the discovery of principles of organization in his work not yet defined by criticism.

THE STUDY of Faulkner is the most challenging single task in contemporary American literature for criticism to undertake. Here is a novelist who, in mass of work, in scope of material, in range of effect, in reportorial accuracy and symbolic subtlety, in philosophical weight, can be put beside the masters of our own past literature. Yet this accomplishment has been effected in what almost amounts to critical isolation and silence, and when the silence has been broken it has usually been broken by someone (sometimes one of our better critics) whose reading has been hasty, whose analysis unscholarly and whose judgments superficial. The picture of Faulkner presented to the public by such criticism is a combination of Thomas Nelson Page, a fascist and a psychopath, gnawing his nails. Of course, this picture is usually accompanied by a grudging remark about genius.

Cowley's book, for its intelligence, sensitivity and sobriety in the Introduction, and for the ingenuity and judgment exhibited in the selections, would be valuable at any time. But it is especially valuable at this time. Perhaps it can mark a turning point in Faulkner's reputation. That will be of slight service to Faulkner, who, as much as any writer of our place and time, can rest in confidence. He can afford to wait. But can we?

ROBERT PENN WARREN

Reprint v. Trade Books

AS BOOK publishers are getting ready for the fall season they are wondering whether the recent drop in book sales (the *New Republic*, August 19) is due to the traditional summer slump, which had virtually disappeared during the continuous war boom, or whether it means a permanent decline. Only incurable optimists believe the former. But while most publishers are expecting a further drop, they are confident that the sales level can be stabilized about half way between the wartime and prewar peaks—that is, in the neighborhood of $400 million.

There is no indication that the seasonal recession, particularly noticeable in the 25-cent reprint business, is equally affecting regular trade editions. This is partly due to the different audience for reprint and trade books, partly to different ways of merchandizing. Standard trade editions are sold in only about 2,000 bookstores and book departments. Reprint books, on the other hand, probably have up to 90,000 outlets, including 77,000 to 80,000 newsstands and another 8,000 to 10,000 chain stores. The sales secret of the low-priced reprint books is that they sell themselves. An actual physical display is piled on tables, then exposed to the public eye. To be profitable, turnover must be exceedingly rapid. Purchase of these books is accidental rather than planned; the buyer is essentially the average "man on the street," the shopping housewife, the hurried traveler. Widespread outlets and easily accessible display determine sales. Reprint publishers are counting on variety chain stores, in particular, to increase outlets to about 150,000 as soon as possible. Bantam Books spent $500,000 in display racks alone in the first six months of its existence.

The bulk-distribution methods of the reprint business are indeed different from the kind of book selling done in the long-established bookstores where good individual service, an experienced staff and sound knowledge of the stock are prime requisities to sell a book. The intelligent bookseller knows that if he were to promote large quantities of the cheap reprint books, he would be unable to provide the service his more sophisticated customers expect. By cluttering front tables with cheap bargains, he loses prestige as well as profit. For the traffic, all-important in cheap reprint outlets, is limited in the regular bookstore. It is certain that mass distribution will remain as foreign to the legitimate bookseller as individual book titles are to the cashier in a chain store, where books are just one more item on sale.

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It is unlikely, therefore, that cheap reprint books will replace the bread-and-butter titles on which authors, booksellers and publishers depend for their livelihood. The cheap reprint books are apt to create a new audience, thus avoiding competition between reprint and trade editions. As reading is habit forming, it is possible that buyers of reprint books may eventually turn to regular trade books.

Finally, there are the twenty-odd book clubs which provide a continued stimulus to trade-edition publishers. The combined membership of these clubs is now about 3.5 million. They are expected to distribute this year, in paid copies, dividends and bonuses, approximately one book per month for every two members. The Literary Guild, with 1,250,000 members, and the Book-of-the-Month Club, with 925,000, count on half their members on the average to take each monthly selection. The clubs are reported as holding and even increasing their membership lists, but they admit growing difficulties in doing so.

New Republic News

The Earl Browder series is being attacked, defended and discussed on all sides. One of our readers wrote in to say:

Why in the name of all that's "liberal" the apologetic note to Browder's article on Russia in your August 12 number? Communism may not be all that its supporters claim, but there is no need for the *New Republic* to apologize for printing it. We, your subscribers, pay our good money for just such articles. We depend on you for information we can get nowhere else.

Another subscriber writes:

I have read Browder's first article and all I can say is that he devoted an awful lot of words to saying nothing.

Still another didn't like the idea of the *New Republic's* printing the Browder series, saying:

I shall not believe one word Mr. Browder writes. I think your journal does a disservice to publish any such account.

The attitude of the American Communists is made very plain in several articles published by the New York *Daily Worker*. In the August 14 issue Alexander Bittelman wrote:

Browderism is poison to labor's political independence and leadership in the struggle for peace and democracy as well as to the vanguard role of the Communist Party. Browderism is therefore the enemy of the anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist coalition without which no durable peace can be won and whose backbone and main driving force can be only an independent American working class headed by an effective Communist vanguard Party. . . . Browder has now blossomed out into an active participant in politics of an unfolded bourgeois nature.

• • •

Frederick Ebright's poetry has appeared in Oscar Williams' anthology, *New Poems: 1944*, and in many magazines. He is now working on a novel.

Hessell Tiltman, newspaper correspondent and writer, covered the Orient for several years before the Pacific war and served as war correspondent in China in 1937 and '38. He returned to Tokyo last December. Among his books on Far Eastern and Pacific affairs are: *Manchuria*: *The Cockpit of Asia*, *The Far East Comes Nearer*, *Uncensored Far East* and *Nightmares Must End*.

Alexander H. Pekelis is a former member of the Italian Bar and Associate Professor of the Law School of the Royal University of Rome. He is now Professor of Political Science and Jurisprudence of the Graduate Faculty of the New School for Social Research, New York City, and chief consultant of the American Jewish Congress on legal and sociological matters.

Robert Penn Warren is professor of English at the University of Minnesota. His new novel, *All the King's Men*, was published on August 19 by Harcourt, Brace. His other novels are *At Heaven's Gate* and *Night Rider*. *Selected Poems: 1923-1943* is also published by Harcourt, Brace.

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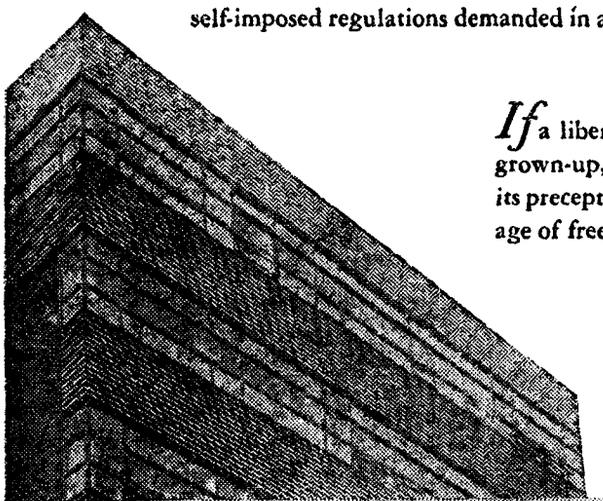

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